

AN PHOBLACHT

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SELF-SACRIFICE

THERE is a word which should be engraven upon the hearts of all men who struggle for freedom -- and that word is self-sacrifice. Not by men who love ease, money, health, or even reputation more than country can it be ever hoped that independence will be won. Pain, poverty, disease, and obloquy have ever been the lot of many of the noblest and purest spirits that have appeared on this earth, and any and all those must we face if we mean that Ireland should be free. In those later years, we have seen and heard of many dilletanti patriots, who perhaps meant well to their country, but certainly always with the saving clause that they suffered little ill themselves. Those drawing-room rebels could sing the woes of Ireland in more or less melodious verses, and perhaps accompany themselves on the piano, but they no more meant "to strike one blow for thee, dear land" than to scale the heights of Olympus. Elegant verses and eloquent speeches they would give us in abundance, but that was all. Some of those gentlemen have at last found congenial rest in comfortable commissionerships: let us trust that, like some of the weaker sex for which perhaps nature had originally intended them, they may obtain pardon for the slips of their youth by the devotions of their declining years. Others there are in Ireland, who unlike those, would, we believe, willingly risk life and limb in her service, but shrink from the merest breath of censure as from the touch of a leper. They cannot act without the stimulus of applause, and when men cease to praise, too often give up the cause in despair, hopeless of a country which has failed to appreciate them. Those men seem to look upon Ireland as a mistress who should return their caresses, and not as the mother who bore them, and to whom they owe life-long service from the very fact of their existence. We should never forget that blame is the penalty of all public action, and that there never was (and probably never will be), any achievement however noble or heroic, that did not find men base or brainless enough to call it mean or little. Strongly and truly was it said, by the Venetian patriot MANIN, who gave in his own person one of the noblest examples of a life's devotion to a cause, that "to save one's country, a man must be prepared to expose himself to everything, even to the curses of his contemporaries." Few of us can serve Ireland as MANIN served Venice, for, but to a small number of men, in any country, is given such large capacity for action and endurance. But the humblest among us can aid in the great work, if only he be willing to immolate self. Time, labour, money, in greater or lesser degree, all men can give, and those the country demands from all; for time, labour, and money must be largely expended before we can ASK that last great sacrifice --- LIFE.

This we know Irishmen are ever ready to risk "in any good cause at all", --- sometimes, alas, even in a bad one -- how much more willingly then in the best and holiest of all.

John O'Leary.

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EDITORIAL

ORGANIZED REPUBLICANISM HAS always asserted with justification that it has never succumbed to external influence when it came to the management of its affairs. Over the years aid has been secured from many quarters to equip Republican forces, but such aid was never accepted at the price of surrendering the direction and control of Republican policies to foreign dictation. This is as it should be, and as it must be if Irish Republicanism is to retain that independence of action essential to its success as a revolutionary movement. When organized Republicanism becomes the lackey of any external influence, it ceases right there and then to be IRISH, and it cannot justifiably claim the capability to serve the Irish People. No movement can serve two masters; it is as simple as that.

OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE have continually laboured to bring home to all Irish Republicans the hard fact that a foreign directed clique has worked its way into leadership circles, for the express purpose of directing the efforts of the Republican Movement along lines advantageous to the interests of a foreign power. The subversives are, as we have repeatedly pointed out, drawn primarily from the ranks of the British Communist Party and its Irish sections, which are in turn directed from Moscow. We have known from the outset that these foreign agents initially entered the movement through the influence of an I.R.A. Headquarters officer. We honestly believed for a time that this man, whom we respected, was being unknowingly exploited by men more sophisticated than he in the techniques of political intrigue. Unfortunately, it has now been proven beyond doubt that this is not the case. Evidence has been substantiated -- unwittingly by the man himself -- which shows HOW he was recruited; WHEN he was recruited; WHERE he was recruited; and by WHOM he was recruited into that network which covers Britain and Ireland, and which is managed by the British Communist Party. We were naive enough to THINK THAT IT WAS HE WHO WAS BEING FOOLED, while all the time it was he who was fooling us. It was no accident that men such as Roy Johnson, a member of the South Hammersmith branch of the British Communist

Party and one-time Treasurer of the Connolly Association, should so easily enter the leadership circles of the Republican Movement. The man to get such men in had been adroitly chosen beforehand. As recently as 1961 four-eyes Johnson could denounce demonstrations in London organized in protest against the activities of the Free State Military Courts. A couple of years later we find him being slipped across on the revolutionary youth in the Republican Movement as a great and knowledgeable addition to our struggle for freedom; an addition for which all are expected to show their thankfulness, or get out. Quite frankly, we are of the opinion that Republicanism can get along fine without the greatness and knowledge of Johnson & Company. Johnson, Coughlan and the rest of their clan were on the other side in '56; but at least they were, for them, being reasonably honest then.

THIS PAST TWELVE MONTHS HAS seen a sharpening of the crisis caused by the introduction of foreign agents into policy-making positions in the Republican Movement. Honest men are finding it more and more difficult to reconcile their Republican instincts with the blatant political sell-out that is being so assiduously fostered under the name of progress. The masquerade of the "Progressives" is wearing thinner by the day; and it is becoming apparent, even to many of those who so vehemently condemned us at the beginning, that there is more to what we say in the pages of AN PHOBLACHT than mere "soreheadedness." At the outset it was easy enough for the "Progressives" to convince the membership of the Republican Movement, and especially the younger members, that AN PHOBLACHT was nothing more than the disgruntled voice of a splinter group who had been kicked out of the movement because they were "troublemakers." It is not so easy now.

WE ARE "TROUBLEMAKERS" ALL RIGHT; but not as the self-styled "Progressives" depict us. We are most assuredly committed to "troublemaking" for all enemies of our traditional Republican aspirations, and for all parasites and milk-and-water patriots who embrace Republicanism for the sole purpose of draining it of its fighting blood.

Some have asked, "What RIGHT have you to set yourselves up as the guardians of Ireland's Republican heritage?" What RIGHT! As Irishmen we have the RIGHT; and as revolutionary Irish Republicans we have the DUTY to combat the spread of a degeneracy that is already making organized Republicanism stink even to the most insensitive of political noses. These are our credentials, and all can make of them what they will.

LET NO ONE BE DISILLUSIONED AS to what is now at stake. The fate of Irish Republicanism, as the voice of social, political and economic aspirations held sacred by our people for centuries, is now on the line. Let no one be fooled; this is a BIG ISSUE, whose outcome can have tremendous effects on the fate of present and future generations.

GREAT EVENTS AND MOMENTOUS struggles often appear deceptively non-consequential to those caught in the tide of events. To some sincere and dedicated Republicans it may still appear that our fight against the erosion of Republicanism by a foreign-dominated clique is overstated; maybe a little wild. It may also appear our opposition is but a tempest, stirred up by yet another disgruntled splinter group that has collected around some egotist who thinks that HE should be at the head of Irish Republicanism. It is easy enough to think such things; easy enough, that is, for those who have failed to read objectively what we have said over and over again in the pages of AN PHOBLACHT. We have never forwarded the claims of any personality for Republican leadership; we have never said that we, and only we as individuals are properly fitted to lead Republicanism to victory; what we have said is that Republicanism must be led by men who are revolutionary in outlook and commitment, because the traditional programme of Republicanism is revolutionary, and therefore can only be realized through unqualified revolutionary action. We have always evinced a ready willingness to join with other revolutionaries to take that fight forward. Who will lead? The best men must always lead, and they shall emerge as our struggle gets under way. We do not lay a claim to that leadership beforehand; we merely say we are committed to revolution, that we are revolutionaries, and as such we shall serve without reserve under any revolutionary leadership that emerges during the revitalization of Irish Republicanism.

WE HAVE ALSO SAID, AND CONTINUE to say, that the men presently at the head of organized Republicanism are committed to a non-revolutionary course of action; a situation brought about by men but recently introduced to Republican ranks, and whose FIRST ALLEGIANCE is to a foreign organization with interests that are unavoidably dissimilar from those of the Irish Nation. To such men Ireland and organized Republicanism are but pawns, to be used and abused according to the changing demands of that power to which they are completely committed. Today, these people find it expedient to use the Republican Movement as a tool; and they naturally endeavour to mould it to that shape best suited to their ends. Tomorrow, they could just as readily find it equally expedient to openly join with Irish Republicanism's overt native enemies. They have done this before, and it is only an utterly naive person who could believe them so scrupulous as not to do so again. We do not claim a superior intelligence by being able to see these characters and the game they play for what it is. As conscious revolutionaries we make it our business to study politics, more closely perhaps than most; and we also make it our business to keep a close track of people, especially those who appear out of the blue on the Republican stage; so that we would be very stupid indeed if we failed to "smell a rat" when individuals, who a couple of years ago could talk only on Russian supremacy and "free love", suddenly present themselves as the saviours of Irish Republicanism. We agree that organized Republicanism required new policies that differed radically from those that "sank the boat" in the fifties, if it was ever to become anything more than a nuisance to the Partitionist regimes. But for our money, to cast aside the old policies of action in favour of those concocted by the Johnson Moscovite troupe, is very much like jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

IN OUR VIEW, IT IS IMPERATIVE that all revolutionary-minded Republicans take a critical look at the masquerade that is being fostered upon them by men whose role in the Republican Movement is very much akin to that of Old Nick in the Garden of Eden. If this is not done, and done soon, it is to be feared that many a high-minded man, who joined the Republican Movement to acquire a proficiency in the use of arms and revolutionary techniques, will instead

find himself a specialist in the trade of bill poster or electioneering agent. Then, all can do their bit for Ireland by serving the parliamentary aspirations of some humbug who was neither seen nor heard from when the going was a little rough.

YOU THINK WE ARE EXAGGERATING? Then look around you; scan the names of those guardians of Republican integrity who are presently preparing to march forth to do battle in the local Elections. With a few honourable exceptions, these people are ready enough to man the barricades to win a seat in a County Council or Corporation. But put them in a position where their patriotism has to stand the test of lead and steel, and we are inclined to think our emigration statistics would take a mighty sudden upwards swing. Of course, it is precisely this type of "sunshine patriot" who is admirably suited to the designs of the foreign directed policy makers who are so assiduously plotting the "Progressive Road To Freedom." They are not likely to question the validity of the "Peaceful Road To Irish Independence;" they can be relied upon to nod with dignified approval on all suggestions to take "the Republican Gun" out of Irish politics; and they can be trusted to sanctify with an obedient Amen, all policies which stipulate the parliamentary road as the only legal and justifiable road now open to Irish Republicanism, due to changing conditions.

CHANGING CONDITIONS BE DAMNED! As far as we can see, the only thing that has changed is that a large number of otherwise level-headed Republicans appear to have

been inflicted with a softening of the brain. How else can one explain the phenomenon of Irish Republicans who see themselves on all sides surrounded by an enemy ever-ready to display his armed hordes, and the best idea they can come up with is to mobilize the Placard Brigade to sing WE SHALL OVERCOME! If this be Progress, God help Ireland.

IT IS, WE THINK, ABOUT TIME ALL Republicans, and especially all who consider themselves committed to the revolutionary faith of our predecessors, got off the merry-go-round, returned to earth, and began once more to grapple with the realities of our life and death struggle for Freedom. Stop kidding yourselves boys! There is no easy road, no clever scheme by which we can surmount the obstacles that stand between us and that concept of Nationhood first formulated by Wolfe Tone. Unfettered freedom never came to a people gift-wrapped in a ballot box. It is only for those strong enough to take it, and determined enough to hold on to it. Our claim to Freedom and national sovereignty rests squarely on our ability to pursue them by the only means they ever have been won; BY ARMS. And a resort to arms means revolutionary struggle; revolutionary struggle in turn means the pursuance of a revolutionary programme; and in its turn, a revolutionary programme implies the existence of a revolutionary movement. What we want first of all is a revolutionary movement that will take the objects of Republicanism forward on the crest of a revolutionary wave made up of armed Irishmen. Let that be our first object.

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DOUBTERS AND SHAMS

IN THIS ISSUE WE REPUBLISH another leading article from the pages of The Irish People, with the purpose of bringing to the Irish youth of today the REAL voice of the Irish Revolution as it thundered across the land a century ago. Like the great majority of the leading articles published in The Irish People during the two years of its existence, this one carries a message and presents a point which shall retain its pertinence for so long as the Irish Revolution remains unfinished. The Irish Republicans of those days talked straight from the

shoulder; we could do with a few like them today. The article which follows appeared under the above heading in The Irish People of October 1, 1864.

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WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSED MORE THAN once of intolerance and exclusiveness. The accusation is unfounded. We would go out of our way to conciliate any Irishman worth having. On the other hand, it is true that we have always denounced false notions of conciliation and toleration. We think the adherence of dishonest politicians a misfor-

tune rather than a gain. Many kinds of weakness, too, unfit men from rendering the national cause any real service.

THERE IS ONE CLASS OF MEN especially to whom we would ever give a wide berth. We allude to the doubters. It always vexes us when we hear of a doubter enlisting in the national movement. Unluckily doubters frequently have a sort of half-alive, half-dead patriotism. Do we not every day come across men who would indeed like Ireland to be an independent nation, who, moreover, like to see a national movement set on foot, who are even nervously anxious to join it? At bottom they think it impossible to deliver Ireland from the yoke of England; but they like talking about it; they love to listen to patriotic speeches and songs; in short, they find a keen pleasure in the excitement of national politics. It is just possible your doubter may have some vague dreamy notion that sometime or other in the distant future, Ireland may, somehow or other, become free. Who knows? Such curious combinations of things turn up! And he may farther solace himself with the comforting hope, that the little game of politics with which he daily amuses himself may in some inexplicable way form a link of the mysterious chain, which slowly drags on the "the good time coming" out of the misty depths of the far-off future.

WHILE WE CONSIDER THESE DOUBTERS to be in all probability a better class than the aspirationists, against whom we warned our countrymen in a former article, we cannot help looking upon them as exceedingly mischievous. The great evil they do is to sow the seeds of doubt all around them. Wherever they go, distrust is likely to spring up. As the man of strong belief infuses faith into all who come in contact with him, so whatever men the doubter gets into close communication with, if they be not in the highest degree faithful and strong-minded, he poisons with hesitation, doubts and fears unknown before. Your doubter spreads abroad his subtle venom, the more easily, because his apparent patriotism oftentimes wins the ears of true men. No doubt it argues weakness in the true men to allow themselves to be thus warped. But even excellent men have weak moments. A rotten sheep is not more mischievous in a sound flock, than among a band of patriots the doubter, who goes about shaking his head in melancholy

fashion, and bewailing the poor prospects of "the cause." As doubters never can be got to hold their tongues and keep their doubts to themselves, would to God they could be persuaded to keep aloof altogether from every real national movement. If they must needs play at politics, let them join sham movements like the Irish National League. There they may find plenty of fun and no danger.

YOUR DOUBTER IS FOND OF GIVING reasons for his want of confidence in the cause of Irish independence. He dwells emphatically on the enormous extent of British power. In truth, the doubter is frequently a flunkey, in which case he is sure to believe implicitly in the invincibility of all existing greatness, and equally sure to have no faith whatever in the strength or resources of a downtrodden people. These require to be made manifest to the senses by actual success before his craven soul can comprehend the fact of their existence. Some of these doubters are also prone to bewail the absence of grandees from the cause of Ireland. This, they sometimes say, makes the success of our cause almost hopeless. We have more than once endeavoured to show that in the peculiar circumstances of our country our so-called aristocracy, who are virtually English not Irish, so far from serving the national cause by joining it, would in reality seriously injure it. We shall at present content ourselves with calling the attention of such of our readers as might be influenced by the desponding talk of the doubters, to a recent example which proves how much may be done by a people without patrician leadership. When we read the names of the five young chiefs of the late Polish secret government, who were executed the other day, we find that all save one belonged to what the flunkey's call the humbler classes of society. The man of highest position amongst them had been no more than a Russian Colonel.

WE BELIEVE, THEN, WE MAY SAFELY affirm that the doubter is a nuisance in the national ranks. But there is a class of men more mischievous still than the mere doubters. These are the men who have no earnestness whatever, who join a movement, resolved at the same time, never in any case to do real work; who ever strive to hold the movement back; who, in short, if things actually came to a practical crisis would fight shy. Some of these are downright dishonest

men, who join from some sordid motive. Others of them, the greater number possibly, are weak and vain rather than knavish. They are idle talkers, who like to delude themselves into the notion that they are conspiring against the Queen and her Government. This tickles their vanity and yields them pleasant excitement. They strive to believe themselves objects of anxiety or terror to "the powers that be." Meanwhile they would have all dangerous work adjourned sine die.

IN SHORT, NO MAN SHOULD JOIN the National cause, who is not animated by strong faith and fully prepared to brave all hazards. Let us have no tea-table revolutionists, who join a cause while danger is remote; who love at once to frighten and fascinate weak girls by "tall-talk," but who sing small when danger pops on them. He who joins in a national struggle incurs the most serious responsibility. It is a terrible thing to trifle with your country's wel-

fare and to sport with mens' lives. The conduct of cowards, who join a movement to gratify their petty vanity and then, in the day of danger shrink into concealment, tends to lead brave men to destruction, by giving them false notions of the support they can reckon on in a bold enterprise. The blood of the brave who perish so deceived, is on the head of the recreants who deceive them. Wise leaders, however, will be sure to see through the hollow professions of sham-patriots and calculate the strength to be relied on in a struggle. Far better it were in a struggle for freedom, to have but 300 true men on whom you could rely for support to the last drop of their blood -- who, if called upon would conquer or die with you, like the 300 unforgotten heroes who perished with Leonidas at Thermopylae -- better a thousand times such a small band (worth their weight in gold) than 30,000 doubters or shams. What better are such adherents than the vilest catiffs?

A SOURCE OF WEAKNESS.

BY

PADDY MAC.

IT IS A SAD FACT THAT OVER the past 50 years the weakest link in the Republican front has been Sinn Fein. History gives irrefutable documentation on this claim, Sinn Fein has been, and continues to be the quarter ever ready to compromise. Oh! I know Sinn Fein is alleged to be a vastly different party today; I know it is said Sinn Fein has been purged of all elements of questionable fidelity to Republican principles. But it is to be feared this story has gone the rounds more than once, only to be refuted by hard facts on each successive occasion.

BACK IN 1917 WHEN REVOLUTIONARY Republicans joined with the sterile and flea-bitten Sinn Fein party, it was said the Sinn Feiners had seen the light; they were now good, solid and reliable Republicans. They proved so reliable that in 1922 they provided the foundation upon which the Treaty of Surrender was perpetuated. The good and solid Sinn Feiners made it known in no uncertain terms that they were not too fussy about establishing the REPUBLIC; Grattan's Parliament satisfied them.

FOLLOWING THE TREATY, IT WAS emphatically stated that Sinn Fein had most assuredly been cleansed of questionable elements with the departure of Griffith and his crew. Now, it was claimed, we are back to tried and true Republicans, who are dedicated to the pursuance of

our traditional goals. But the Civil War had barely ended, when treachery raised its ugly head once more in Sinn Fein ranks. The "Long Fellow" found he could not stretch his legs sufficiently within the limits laid down by Republicanism, so he marshalled his "Soldiers of Destiny" and headed to join Cosgrave's Brass Band in Leinster House.

ONE WOULD THINK THAT FINALLY the cancer of treachery had at last been purged from Sinn Fein ranks. But no. Throughout the thirties the old hankering for parliamentary politics remained within its ranks; the old tendencies continued to show themselves. However, because the IRA had severed its association with Sinn Fein in 1925, Sinn Fein's chances of doing further harm were lessened; and by the end of the thirties Sinn Fein was practically a dead letter.

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE Republican Movement in the late forties saw the re-emergence of Sinn Fein. It was said, in justification, that a public voice was needed for the IRA; the lack of which was claimed to represent one source of weakness during the preceding decade. Sinn Fein was to be the mouthpiece of the IRA; but very soon it was the IRA which was

the servant-boy of Sinn Fein. The fifties saw the catastrophic results of this relationship; men lay dead and in jail, and for what? Treachery and base political motives emanating from Sinn Fein ranks had once more led honest Republicans up the garden path.

SOME FIVE YEARS AGO SINN FEIN had yet another of its periodic purges to cleanse its ranks of unreliable and un-republican tendencies. Great changes were promised; a new era was in the offing. Today, it is evident the old cancerous spots are still capable of eating through successive coats of Republican paint. Sinn Fein continues the weakest link in the Republican front, as it continues to afford a ready haven and base of operations for men committed to a mode of politics which history has shown can never hope to fulfil Republican goals.

SUCH IS THE SORRY RECORD OF Sinn Fein. The question is, why has it proved so vulnerable to treachery over all those years? Why has it never been possible to cleanse it of weaknesses it has evinced from the very outset of its association with revolutionary Republicanism?

THE ANSWERS ARE SIMPLE ENOUGH. Sinn Fein is, and always has been a party primarily committed to parliamentary politics. Irish Republicanism is, and always has been revolutionary, and therefore more militant in its political values. You cannot merge both under one roof on an equal footing without severe repercussions from such a violent contradiction in values.

THE SINN FEIN--IRA ALLIANCE IS NOTHING less than a political Jekyll and Hyde; a movement endeavouring to function under conditions of inner conflict arising from a split personality. It is impossible to achieve stability of that unity of purpose, so essential to Republican success, under those circumstances, because a movement so divided attracts to its separate wings people with varying levels of commitment; people who see the REPUBLIC in differing lights, and who therefore react differently to presented conditions.

IT IS NONSENSICAL TO SUGGEST revolutionary objects can be harmoniously pursued by a movement founded mainly on two organizations with their individual Constitutions and leaderships, and catering to two distinct categories of people. Undoubtedly, this helps to realize a greater overall numerical strength at the outset; but it also induces fundamental weaknesses which will

inadvertently reflect adversely on the position of the more radical wing -- which is the IRA. No one has ever heard of the IRA betraying Sinn Fein. It has always been the other way round, and for good reasons. A revolutionary organization united with a constitutional one cannot betray the partnership, because its minimum position is at worst equal to the latter's maximum position. Hence, even if the revolutionary organization falls off in purpose, it will still uphold objects acceptable to its partner; whereas the same cannot be said for the constitutional organization.

IT IS USELESS TO SAY THE weaknesses Sinn Fein has shown over the years can be cured. They cannot. The only real cure is to harmonize the political and military efforts of organized Republicanism; which would mean a revolutionary political wing functioning in harmony with the military one, and both operating under the control of one revolutionary leadership. Sinn Fein cannot fulfil such a role; because a party whose mode of action is constitutionally limited to parliamentary means cannot possibly be expected to give political leadership to a revolutionary army.

A PROPERLY FUNCTIONING revolutionary movement is one wherein a single leadership has at its avail a political organization embodying the undiluted social, political and economic aspirations of the revolution; and a military force whose purpose is to contest the issue of State Power so that these objects can be converted to reality. Under those conditions the revolutionary soldier can fight, confident in the knowledge that the leadership and political apparatus of the movement is at one at all times with him, and will not settle for anything less than he is prepared to fight for. To realize such an arrangement, organized Republicanism would have to be re-grouped along lines vastly dissimilar from the present arrangement. If it was desired to retain the name Sinn Fein for the political wing, it would be necessary to re-create that body as a completely new organization; which would mean not alone organic changes, but also a weeding out of those elements who joined in the first instance because of the parliamentary limitations of original Sinn Fein policies. Such a drastic alteration in the structure of Sinn Fein seems impossible. Consequently, the easiest road is to eliminate Sinn Fein altogether, and to found a truly revolutionary

VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

EOIN McDONAILL

OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS the younger members of the Republican Movement have shown a growing interest in the stand taken by AN PHOBLAUGHT. The course of events is relentlessly exposing the game being played by the neo-Griffithites; it is becoming more and more difficult to hide Sinn Fein's march towards a complete commitment to parliamentary politics; and the elite of the emerging generation, who joined Republican ranks in order to rid the country of the Partitionist order, are gradually awakening to the fact that they are being taken for a merry ride. A disillusionment with Republicanism as it is practiced by Sinn Fein is spreading amongst them, and this is not to be wondered at.

WITH A GROWING FREQUENCY the more active members of the Republican Movement are asking questions on what they should do. Many talk openly of quitting the movement; more, who have made contact with people associated with the Committee which publishes AN PHOBLAUGHT, have asked our advice on the matter. The following is our position, on which we advise all dedicated Republicans who are beginning to feel the pangs of disenchantment with the neo-Griffithites, and who desire to work constructively for the fulfilment of Republican aims.

DO NOT QUIT NOW!!

FIRST OF ALL, IT IS OUR conviction that as yet it is not in the best interests of Irish Republicanism that all those who have awakened to the game being played by the present leadership should leave the movement. To do this is to play right into the hands of those who are currently endeavouring to gain undisputed control of a movement which inherits the prestige of our revolutionary past, so that they may more easily exploit the republican sympathies of our people for their adventures in parliamentary politics. In our view, the fight for control of the Republican Movement, and especially the I.R.A., is still an open question. And for so long as there is a chance to retrieve the I.R.A. from the hands of the neo-Griffithites who

appear to have fallen under the spell of foreign agents, it is in the best interests of Irish Republicanism that all true Republicans remain in the ranks in order to be better able to contest the issue of the army's destiny. Later on it may become quite clear that the interests of the Irish Revolution would be better served by initiating a new organization to openly contest the issue. Until then, however, it is vitally important that all those who desire to see Irish Republicanism return to its traditional revolutionary path, and who are not yet in touch with the Committee For Revolutionary Action, should make contact so as to better co-ordinate overall activity. If contacts with the Committee do not exist in an area, or if they are presently unknown to those seeking them, activist Republicans should form their own group within local levels of the Republican Movement, so as to be in a position to combat more effectively the neo-Griffithite plot to sell the movement, and also to be better equipped to cooperate at a future date, with all those of similar views, in the fight for the salvation of the I.R.A.

NO NEW MOVEMENT YET !!

WE HAVE REFRAINED FROM starting a new revolutionary organization to date despite growing demands, and the knowledge that such an organization would win to it a large body of the present Republican Movement, as well as a formidable number of men who have either left the Republican Movement in disgust or have been expelled for militant and revolutionary opinions. Many factors have influenced this stand.

FIRSTLY:

We know time is on our side; a hasty move could result in conflict and bad feeling with good men who continue in the I.R.A. with the mistaken belief that they are truly serving our revolutionary cause. It would be foolish to cause such conflict because the near future will convince even the most faithful I.R.A. man that he is but a tool in the hands of unscrupulous politicians.

SECONDLY:

To start a new organization before the old movement had fully exposed itself, would tend to confuse republican sympathizers generally; and the energies expended to clarify the issues at stake could be better spent in preparation for the real fight. In other words, we do not wish, if we can help it, to aggravate further the present popular disenchantment with organized republicanism. Given enough rope the present leadership will adequately expose themselves, and all republican supporters will then see more easily for themselves the need for a new organization, and will more readily come to the support of it. Under such conditions, the old time-worn cry of "splinter group" will carry no weight whatever.

THIRDLY:

Although it is our belief that a new organization, structurally designed to meet the demands of modern revolutionary methods, and directed by policies that emanate from a truly revolutionary programme, is essential to the success of Irish Republicanism; we believe also that such an organization should, if at all possible, emerge under conditions which would see the I.R.A. incorporated as its cornerstone. The I.R.A. has upheld our revolutionary objects over the years, and it is only fitting that now, when a new and revitalized effort is required to carry our revolution forward, it should provide the spark to set our aspirations ablaze once more. It is our desire to see this, rather than see the I.R.A. end its days in the hands of counterfeit patriots who have every intention of doing to it what the Free Staters did to the I.R.B. half a century ago. For so long as hope exists that the I.R.A. can be saved from such a dishonourable end, and for so long as the demands of the Irish Revolution allow us to await its salvation, we retain the desire to see the I.R.A. instituted as the foundation for a new, a mighty and a victorious revolutionary organization in Ireland.

CHART OUR OWN COURSE:

IT IS OUR FIRM CONVICTION THAT Irish Republicanism is well equipped to chart its own course of action without advice from the gang of bankrupt communists (sic) run by Greaves of the Connolly Ass. and his deputy, Johnson, in Dublin. Over the past few years these experts in political somersaulting

-- Ireland's contribution to the Moscow Circus--have relentlessly pursued their plan of placing their stooges in the various levels of the Republican Movement, so as to facilitate their control of it. Old party hacks, whose political activity never rose higher than peddling the DAILY WORKER, or mouthing the latest slogan from Moscow, have been resurrected from obscurity to contaminate Republican ranks with their leprous presence. As the control of these unprincipled and politically depraved creatures extends over Republicanism, the arrogance with which they dictate to Republicans a policy of abject collusion with the Free State grows proportionately; the contempt they evince towards the I.R.A. becomes more insolent; and their sneering remarks on the ILLEGALITY of the Army's past undertakings more frequent. That such gross insults have been tolerated to a great extent, demonstrates the degree of demoralization that pervades the ranks of militant Republicanism; and which reflects the accumulative results of adversities suffered over the past four decades.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, these odious ambassadors from a political cesspool have ingratiated themselves into the Republican Movement for the sole purpose of realizing ends which could not so readily be attained by their own insipid excuse for an organization in Ireland. These characters joined the movement, not to serve Republicanism, but to bend Republicanism so that it might serve their ends. And if there be any I.R.A. man who does not see this by now, then, he is not alone naive politically, but also a downright danger to the very cause he wishes to serve -- the Irish Revolution.

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT ALL true Republicans shake off this apathy that permits foreign directed parasites to manipulate them like zombies. It is imperative that all militant Republicans retrieve a confidence in their own abilities; that they start to think for themselves again, and awaken to the realization that Ireland has always been able to produce its own revolutionary leaders to plan the course of our struggle, without relying on the guidance of a group whose only claim to fame lies in the dexterity with which they can adopt themselves to the whims of their Moscow masters. Ireland's sal-

vation cannot be engineered in Moscow, and implemented by its puppets. And even if it could, we would still not touch it, or con-done it, because we fervently believe that if Irish independence is to have real meaning, it must be won by Irishmen who have risen to and mastered the demands of the struggle for unfettered control of our own country, without being propped up by outside forces. A free Irish Nation must be made in Ireland by Irishmen; that is our position, and we give way to no man on the issue.

IN VIEW OF THE ROLE NOW BEING played by men long associated with Moscow-dominated groups, one is inclined to wonder what has happened to make leading Sinn Feiners change their minds since 1962. In the July issue of the UNITED IRISHMAN for that year, a Statement under the heading "No Link With Communists", stated in part: "In view of the fact that in England and in Ireland, advocates of Communism are endeavouring to identify themselves with the Republican Movement, and since there may be a danger that some genuine Republicans may erroneously believe that service to the Cause of Irish Freedom can be rendered through membership of organizations or Associations under the control or influence of such persons, the leadership of the Republican Movement deems it necessary to make the following statement".....The leadership of the Republican Movement has no desire, and certainly, no intention to form links of association with such organizations, and it will resist all efforts on the part of Communist agents and persons known to have Communist sympathies to identify themselves with the movement for the purpose of using it for their own ulterior motives." Nowadays, one can get kicked out of the movement for refusing to co-operate with these self-same "agents" who were considered such a threat only a couple of years ago. Why?

CLEARLY, IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL the "genuine Republicans" who have managed to stay in the movement, to agitate for the removal of the foreign controlled agents who have sneaked into Republican ranks. Every opportunity, every device should be availed of for this end. Persistence should be the guiding motto in this fight. At every opportunity genuine Republicans should insist that this gang of unsavoury individuals be kicked out, and that all the debasing, defeatist and collusionist policies they

have managed to slip across be kicked out with them. Dedicated Republicans should fight for a return of the control of organized Republicanism to Irishmen; they should insist that Irishmen are still able to manage their own affairs; and in no uncertain language they should tell the handful of Republicans who remain at the top, that they had better toe the line or suffer the consequences of their spinelessness.

THE SLOGAN FOR ALL ACTIVIST Republicans within the Republican Movement should be: KICK THE FOREIGN CONTROLLED LACKEYS OUT. All energies should now be committed to this end, because success or failure in this task shall determine whether or not the I.R.A. is to live as the armed fist of the Irish Revolution, or decline to a lowly status of bill-posting brigade for Sinn Fein parliamentarians.

ARMS ARE ESSENTIAL:

PEARSE STRUCK RIGHT AT THE heart of the matter when he wrote in THE COMING REVOLUTION: "We of this generation are not in any real sense men, for we suffer things that men do not suffer, and we seek to redress grievances by means which men do not employ. We have, for instance, allowed ourselves to be disarmed."

AS WE SEE IT, IT IS BAD ENOUGH that many contemporary I.R.A. men have tamely allowed themselves to be disarmed. But how much greater and more debasing is this act of submissiveness, when the actual policy of disarming Irish Republicans is one implemented by a Republican leadership? These self-styled leaders are proclaiming their allegiance to the revolutionary cause for which Pearse and his comrades willingly gave their lives, and at the same time, they pursue a course of action which Pearse condemned in most explicit terms! Arm! Arm! Arm! cried Pearse; Arm! Arm! Arm! cried the Fenians; Arm! Arm! Arm! cried the United Irishmen. For over a century and a half all Irish revolutionaries have been resolute on one point: Irishmen must acquire arms and a proficiency in their use, if they are to stand any chance whatever in realizing an Independent Nation State. But now the tune has been changed. According to the present braintrust, this proposition was all wrong; the I.R.A. can never expect to get anywhere if it persists in making "the emotional appeal to arms."

THE PRESENT EXCUSE FOR A leadership claims that this appeal to arms is wrong, because it is ILLEGAL according to the laws of the Partitionist regimes. Of course it is ILLEGAL for Irishmen to work towards the Republic; can anyone tell me when it was otherwise? The United Irishmen were acting ILLEGALLY; the Fenians were acting ILLEGALLY; the men of 1916 were acting outside the LAW, as were the I.R.A. who fought the Tan War; the men who fought the Civil War were acting ILLEGALLY, to say nothing of those who rallied to the call in 1956. All through the centuries of occupation Ireland's national identity has survived because men had guts enough to assert their manhood in the face of oppressive laws that were LEGAL according to the dictates of our enemy. Over the centuries, for Irishmen to act LEGALLY, meant they sell their manhood and willingly surrender their fate to the will of their enemies. Is this the course proposed by the present leadership in the Republican Movement?

TODAY IT IS ILLEGAL FOR Irishmen to pursue the realization of a sovereign Republican State by any means which may jeopardize the continuity or security of regimes whose very existence resulted from a betrayal of those self-same Republican aspirations. It does not require a great political sagacity to see that the establishment of a 32-County Republic could not avoid but destroy the vested interests that have come into being as a result of that betrayal. Consequently, it does not demand a college degree to understand that for so long as the Partitionist regimes possess political power, they will institute laws to uphold their position, and will use all the force at their avail to enact them. To propose it possible to pursue revolutionary action within the confines and limitations of such laws, is to suggest that the Partitionist regimes will readily facilitate Republicanism with the means whereby it can destroy them. If there be Republicans who think such an eventuality possible or probable, we say such men are candidates for a lunatic asylum, rather than for the ranks of a movement which is obligated, by the sacrifices of centuries, to struggle with unrelenting vigour for the creation of a Nation State based on a foundation of unfettered sovereignty. For so long as this object remains unfulfilled not alone shall every act which

tends to forward it be deemed ILLEGAL, but the very existence of men who hold such hopes sacred in their hearts is also an ILLEGALITY according to the laws of the Partitionist regimes. In other words, today it is not alone ILLEGAL for an Irishman to work for an Independent Ireland, it is also ILLEGAL for such an Irishman to breathe, because his very existence is contrary to law.

IT IS TRUE, OF COURSE, THAT Republicanism has not enjoyed much success in its recent attempts at armed struggle. But let us get one fact straight: our failures in the past have not resulted from the fact that they were ILLEGAL according to the laws of our enemies, but from the fact that armed struggle was engaged in without a proper awareness of the demands of such undertakings, and without the guidance of a leadership equipped to adopt the everchanging techniques of revolutionary armed struggle to our particular situation. Under such conditions, it is ridiculous to attribute the cause of our failures to the ILLEGALITY of resorting to arms. It would be more to the point if we studied the methods of revolutionary armed struggle more closely, and equipped with such knowledge, analysed our past efforts to ascertain where we went wrong. We must eliminate past mistakes, and prepare an effort more in tune with present-day demands, rather than with past exploits. We must build a new revolutionary army capable of overcoming the enemy as he is today, rather than as he was 50 years ago. This must be our course; it is the only one that can bear fruit.

IT IS THE HEIGHT OF TREACHERY to propose Republicanism can set up a "Dual Government" in Ireland by contesting Partitionist elections, and by hobnobbing with Trade Union bureaucrats who are wholly committed to the present order. It is the height of treachery to propose Republicanism should refrain from "the job of military action" until a "Dual Government" is a reality by such means, because that day will never come.

SURELY, THE NATURE OF THE game implicit in the recently publicised "PLAN" must be apparent to all clear-thinking men. This communist party inspired "PLAN" proposes the elimination of Republican armed forces, and the concentration of all Republican energies in an abortion styled "legal revolutionary action." Has anyone

ever heard of this particular type of "revolutionary" action? Has anyone ever come across an instance where it has proved a success? Has anyone even heard of an instance where a people were foolish enough to even try this sort of thing? Of course not. No one has ever heard of it, and never will, because how can you possibly have a revolution regulated according to legal limitations specifically designed to perpetuate the prevailing order of things, and frankly tailored to combat essential change in that order? But then, this infamous "PLAN", which constitutes the directive that regulates current policies in the Republican Movement, was concocted, not to facilitate the realization of the Irish Revolution, but to side-track it into a labyrinth of fruitless and purposeless activity.

TO COMBAT THE TREASON BEING espoused by lackeys and foreign agents, all true Republicans within the I.R.A. must act with resoluteness, and at once. They should demand arms for their units, while at the same time ensuring that those they now possess are not lost to the clutches of the Dublin-based compromisers and Free-State-orientated politicians. This must be acted upon now, if the Army is to pull itself out of that swamp of intrigue and compromise it is now encased in.

THE ONLY ROAD:

A REVOLUTION WHICH PROPOSES the economic and social reconstruction of a free united Ireland, is the only permissible object open to Irish Republicans of the traditional type. To fulfil such aspirations it is necessary that we first master the enemy, and this can only be done through a reliance on armed men. This is the first priority.

IT IS CLEAR THEN THAT REPUBLICANS must organize their ranks so as to facilitate success in the armed struggle for State Power, because without that power they cannot hope to get anywhere. We must build an army which is at once strong enough to win, and at the same time politically conscious of its true role in the revolution, and of the objects of the revolution. We must build an army dedicated to military victory, because it understands that such a victory is essential to our political success. Political power comes through the barrel of a gun. Let us arm then, in preparation for the struggle for State Power.

WE KNOW OF NO OTHER METHOD, history shows us no other road to victory, on which we can honestly advise Irish Republicans. From the outset we of AN PHOBLACHT have hammered away at the essential truths of revolutionary political activity. We have said to all Republicans: If you desire victory, Arm, Organize, Educate. One armed Republican constitutes a threat to the peace of mind of the present system. Ten thousand armed Republicans, organized in revolutionary formations, and fortified with a solid understanding of the political, social and economic goals of the revolution, will bury that system in the lower depths of hell. It is possible; you can make it a reality!

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political party. The revolutionary elements now in Sinn Fein--if there be any at all -- will naturally be attracted to the ranks of this new body.

FOR MANY YEARS ORGANIZED Republicanism has provided a haven for those who desire to be Republicans, without being burdened with the responsibilities explicit in that calling. This haven has been, and continues to be Sinn Fein. For many years organized Republicanism has endeavoured to be all things to all men; at once constitutional and militant in its makeup. Nothing has been gained from this; in fact, it is but too clear that the Republican Cause has suffered enormously from such an irresolute stand. Successive betrayals have been the result; and they in turn have bred confusion, dissention and disillusionment throughout the ranks of the movement and of its popular supporters. Things have gone from bad to worse, until today it is difficult to imagine Republicanism sinking any lower than it now is. Clearly, action must be taken; and it is obvious that this must entail a cleaning-up, an elimination of the causes of weakness, and a regrouping along lines compatible to the needs and objects of Republicanism. Sinn Fein is one glaring source of weakness; it must be cast out before we can expect to retrieve our losses and be in the position to strike a new blow in the fight for IRISH FREEDOM.

FIGHT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
