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## IRELAND

The people have risen up against the Orange police state and British troops. They will smash British Imperialism or be smashed themselves.



Northern Ireland has exploded again. The slow, but inevitable accumulation of contradictions since last August has been burst by the jailing of Bernadette Devlin. On the surface it may look a lot like last summer. In reality British imperialism and its Stormont lackeys today confront a completely different situation.

Last year when the troops entered Derry and Belfast, many people there believed that they had been spared an orange pogrom. Callaghan's visit and his demagogic promise of 'reforms' raised hopes that at last things were beginning to change. The granting of One-Man One-Vote, the disbandment of the 'B' Specials all helped to raise these hopes. The months which have followed have proved rather clearly that these hopes were false.

Unemployment and housing problems have been aggravated by the troubles of last year; there has been a swing to Paisleyism amongst the Protestant workers and the Tories have been elected in Britain. All of these factors have combined to make the situation unbearable for the mass of Catholic workers. The jailing of Bernadette Devlin was the last straw. The anger which was blown red hot was turned incandescent by the reaction of British imperialism. Maudling supported so far by the Labour Front Bench has turned to a policy of complete repression, attempting to behead the struggles before they go any further. Northern Ireland is in for a long, bitter, bloody, hot summer

#### THE LEFT IN BRITAIN

The left in Britain has a tremendous responsibility. It must not stand by as it has done in the past and see the struggle crushed. It must overcome the historical backwardness about Ireland

which has never been eradicated from the British working class movement. During the struggle of the Irish in 1870, Marx wrote that the British workers could never liberate themselves unless they supported the liberation of Ireland. A hundred years later, in 1970, we are still in the same

Revolutionaries in Britain must seriously grapple with the Irish situation. The old method of seeing every other struggle in the world as an extension of the fight here just does not wash for Ireland. Low wages, bad housing, police repression, divisions in the working class, do not exist just because Ireland is a capitalist country, but because Ireland is dominated by British imperialism. The national democratic revolution for independence was aborted. The Irish bourgeoisie sold out in 1921 and has been selling out to British capitalism ever since. All of the problems of the Irish workers, North and South, stem from this fact and all of their struggles are dominated by this relations-

#### CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE?

The civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland was no exception. It concentrated at first on purely constitutional demands, within the context of the Northern Irish statelet. However the grievances it took up and the state it challenged were formed by this defeat of the nationaldemocratic revolution. Since the Orange colony could not concede real civil rights every step forward by the popular movement meant another blow at Orange stability. Nor was this affected in the least by British Imperialism's plan to restructure Northern Ireland on the basis and with the consent of the Catholic and Protestant middle- classes. The frankenstein monster it had created in the Orange

working class would brook no change in Ulster whatever and any attempt to alter the status quo inevitably threatens to knock down the state.

#### A UNITED IRELAND

So the present stage in NI is a struggle that will achieve, not civil rights, but the destruction of Northern Ireland and the unification of Ireland. It may not be clearly expressed at this moment, but the dynamics of Irish history will allow no other course. This unification will be achieved in the teeth of the opposition of every section of the Irish bourgeoisie and will mean that the national and the anticapitalist struggle will be fused into one. The process of permanent revolution has begun in Ireland and it will lead either to the victory of the Workers Republic or to the defeat of those sections of the Irish population, the workers and poor farmers, who bear the bruint of the struggle. A defeat which could make the present repression in Ireland seem like nothing. WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN BRITAIN

We in Britain who support this struggle against British imperialism must not fail. There must be an all-out effort to build an effective soplidarity movement on an all inclusive basis, on the principle of self-determination for Ireland. The great reserves of Irish weor workers in Britain are ready to be mobilised by such a campaign. And in mobilising them we will begin to mobilise their British fellow workers, not to speak of the Black workers. In carrying out our revolutionary duty to the Irish comrades we are at the same time pr for the war against British imperialism in Ireland to be brought home to be fought in the lair of the beast itself.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND! WITHDRAW ALL BRITISH TROOPS NOW! RELEASE BERNADETTE DEVLIN AND ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS NOW!

### Unfree Press Distorts History

"Laws that make the sentiment of the acting person the main criterion, and not the act as such, are nothing but positive sanctions of lawlessness.

KARL MARX

The question of Ireland has once again given the bourgeois press in England an exceptional opportunity to fulfil its traditional role of mystification. A role that it plays during every popular uprising: that of concealing the true issues, of trivialising the achievments, motives and above all the desperation of the insurgents. The bourgeois press has, true to form, done its bit to preserve the interests of its capitalist masters by a persistent demand for the re-establishment of law, order and 'reason' while 'reform' is introduced and the workers can go back quietly to their exploited situation. However, for many of the events in the Six Counties, the bourgeois press remains one of our few sources of information. It is important therefore to be able to translate theitr gnomic language into simple English. We give here a few simple ground rules:

MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER/ KEEPING THE PEACE/ for these and other variants read:

The English have occupied Ireland for centuries. They were largely driven out by a revolution which has since been corrupted and bourgeoisified, but they clung on to six economically useful counties which they continued to hold with an occupying army under the direction of a landlordist and industrialist ruling class. The army (now heavily re-inforced), the RUC and the Unionist irregulars aim to maintain the status-quo.

Recently 'sanctions of lawlessness' have included orders to the military to shoot those defending their freedom, laws increasing the penalties on those excersizing their civil liberties and threats to withdraw the minor concessions won in the early phase of the struggle

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC:

The press in staunch support of the Irish gentry and capitalists have done their utmost to compel their readers to think of the struggle as one between religious sects. Bear in mind the following-many workers thus labelled have only the most notional allegiance to their respective churches. Those actually fighting are all working class and a bulk of them are living in acute poverty and conditions of heavy unemployment. Much as poor whites in the USA see poor blacks as at once more depressed and as a threat so do poor 'Protestants' regard poor 'Catholics'. Working class 'Catholics' have come to see 'Protestants' as embodying the world of privilege, force and appression which has dominated them for centuries. Landlords and bosses have been careful to take over the principal Protestant groupings which provide a release for Protestant

issue. Paisley is npo not right wing in the obvious, simple sense. He represents a populist opposition to landlordism and also reflects the false consciousness of a section of the working class. His twin enemies are the 'Paddies' or Catholics, for complex

religio-historical reasons and landlordism for political reasons. In one sense he is the perverted result of a popular opposition that has decided to accept the terms of the conflict imposed by the bosses. By describing him as the extremist of the 'other side' the press have tried to make the bosses and landlords into the

reasonable men of the centre BRITAIN OR IRELAND:

Protestants want to remain with Britain. Catholics want to join Ireland. Thus the bourgeois Press in England. In the distant past the counties of Ulster were the strongest centres of opposition to British colonial rule. The British 'pacified' the area by a mixture of genocide and forced evacuation. The large estates were granted to British landlords or Irish puppets and the population was largely replaced by poor Protestants drivem from their homelands by similar forces in Scotland. It is their descendants, almost equally brutalised by their masters who are the modern 'Protestants' in the conflict. At the time of Independence, Ulster itself was divided: three poor and still Catholic counties were freed and six rich and largely Protestant counties were enslaved under the pigs of Stormont Freedom in the twent was sold back to the British as the republic became a neo-colony, while the gerry mandered six counties were partially integrated into the exploiting Capital of Britain. TYh

There is no solution to this dilemma apart from increased repression. The press recognoise this and talk slavishly of the need for 'sweet reason' to triumph--- what they mean is for things to settle and for the republic to continue as a client state of England and the six counties as a colony. In this wish they are joined by the bourgeois of the Twenty-Six Counties who find the British interest profitable

FACTIONS/IRISHISM/CROSS CHILDREN, ETC./

These are the expressions the press use to hide the determination of the Catholic working class to fight for its freedom. Ridicule is the weapon of the impotent editors of the 'quality' press and they use it in order to defend the crimes being perpetrated by British Imperialism in Ireland. Revolution in Ireland is too close for the comfort of the Bosses and their newspapers. Remember

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist republic your efforts would be in

BERNADETTE RE-ELECTED

Voters in Mid-Ulster re-elected Bernadette Devlin on June 18, 1970, giving her a considerably increased majority. Throughout her campaign she was bitterly opposed by both a pro-Paisley Unionist candidate and a Green Tory; a 'National Socialist' withdrew on the day

Bernadette fought an extremely principled election campaign. She made it clear that she was a socialist and asked people to vote for Connolly's Workers Republic; she made it plain that she was opposed to both the Orange and the Green Tories and the reactionary influence of the Catholic Church on the people.

Despite all this it cannot be said that all the people who voted for her did so because she was a socialist. They did so because they felt that she was the only candidate who could beat the Unionist. But the effect of her election campaign and her period as an MP has been on the whole a healthy one. It is not uncommon to hear young Irish workers in particular calling at meetings for a 32 county Workers Republic and for workers control in the factories. Of course she has antagonised many older people. One old lady I met in the desolate Lough shore area told me that if Bernadette ever criticised the Catholic

Around 3 a.m. on the night of the el a large crowd, mainly of Devlin support had gathered outside the school in Oma where the count was going on, waiting the result. Most of them were quite con that Bernadette had won and were wait for the victory parade. After the result declared and Bernadette was back with increased majority, they all gathered up outside the Courthouse. As someone ra a Starry Plough over the court house, Bernadette raised her fist and began to the 'Internationale'. Spontaneously larg parts of the crowd raised their fists and oined in humming and singing the snatches of words they knew Mid-Ulster had re-elected its SOCIALIS

Steve O' Dwyer



### DE DIRICES DE LA COMP

[ This is the abridged version of a speech made by a leading Irish militant at the founding conference of the Spartacus League in London on July 4-5,1970]

At the turn of the century British imperialism had arrived at a new method of governing Ireland. The proceeds of the scramble for Africa had made it possible to buy out the landlord class in Ireland. The Irish countryside could therefore be transformed from an Eastern European situation to a Western European one. The land problem could in that way be removed from Irish politics. British imperialism could then come to terms with the southern bourgeoisie to construct a modern up-to-date method of exploiting Ireland. This southern bourgeoisie wanted to erect a tariff barrier between itself and England so that it would be able to compete within its own market. The northern bourgeoisie on the other hand had no use for such a barrier. Indeed it would have been fatal to its interests for its shipbuilding industry etc was really a part of British industry implanted in Ireland. It depended on free and unfettered access to the Imperial markets: its whole mode of production was rooted in that premise. By themselves, however, the northern bourgeoisie would not have been strong enough to resist a general mobilisation of the people against British Imperialism led by the southern bourgeoisie. It could offer a successful resistance only because it was able to maintain the support of the Protestant settlers in Northern Ireland. HOME RULE= ROME RULE

Mobilised on the slogan that Home Rule meant Rome Rule, it is true that had the north come under the domination of the southern bourgeoisie, it was probable that sections of the population from small farmers upward would have suffered. Although a crude characterisation. it is true to say that the Catholics in the North are Blacks with white skins. The Protestant settlers remain conscious of themselves as colons. The Protestants originally settled on land robbed from the native Catholic Irish. The fact that they have settled on stolen land, and that the original occupants have remained in the country and not been exterminated after the North American model, has been the basis for a continuing fear of the Catholics by the Protestant population. To this day the Catholic streets are refereed to as Irish streets in the North. If the British connexion were to be broken and an Irish Workers Republic declared, it is possible that a third of the Northern Irish would emigrate rather than remain to hav equal rights with the Catholics. So deeply rooted is the sion mentality.(In fact the situation bears some comparison to Algeria, although the French settlers there had not been in the country for nearly such a length of time as the Protestants in Ireland).

In 1912 the Protestants had resorted to armed uprising to stop the Home Rule Bill from being implemented. The southern response was nationalist uprising. By 1920 Britain was both weak at home and had acquired new colonies abroads. What it did not want was a continuing guerrilla war on its hands in Ireland. It tried repression(The Black and Tans etc), but this

only intensified peoples' war against it. Guerrilla troops beat British imperialism out of two-thirds of Ireland: Britain's influence became restricted to the towns. THe King's writ no langer ran. The Civil War had a massive effect on the Irish working class.

#### **ECONOMIC PROBLEMS**

With the end of World War 1 a run down took place in many Irish industries connected with agriculture. They had been inflated by the war and with the end of the war the market collapsed In some cases rather than face the sack, workers took over the factories, imitating the example of the Russian workers and soviets. The national revolution

showed signs of growing over into a socialist revolution. Because of the deep implantation of chauvinist attitudes and because of the predominantly nationalist character of the revolution, it had not so far made a deep impression on the British working class. British imperialism feared, however, that if the Irish revolution assumed an independent socialist character, the struggle in Ireland would link up with that in Britain, particularly with that of the Clydeside workers.

The southern bourgeoisie therefore got its tariff barriers or at least the eventual opportunity to erect them. THe tragedy for the Irish working class had been that it lost its Marxist leadership in 1916: however necessary and important for the struggle that uprising was, its cost was great. The result was that in 1920 the Irish working class did not enter the situation as an independent factor. The situation was resolved by the Northern and Southern bourgeoisies and by British imperialism.

In the North the mass support of the Protestants was in an area around Belfast, so small an area in fact that it was not viable as a bridgehead or a sub-statelet. It was necessary to extend this district. The problem then was one of maintaining control once large numbers of Catholics were admitted. For this reason three of the historic counties of Ulster were left out of the formation of the six county state. The remaining boundaries were very carefully drawn to allow the Unionists to maintain control while including as large an area as possible. In four and a half counties the Catholics were either in a majority or constituted a very substantial minority These catholics would not work the Northern Irish state and because of this a fascist state was erected in the North. THe Catholics were smashed militarily, politically and psychologically. Pogroms, 'B' Specials and all the rest of the repressive apparatus was used to make sure that the Catholic populatioon remained crushed. Politically they were demoralised by the Civil War in the South, which they didn't understand. The Catholics in the North had historically constituted one of the more politically backward sections of the population and would have settled for the Free State. This lasted from the time of the Treaty (1922) to the present day.

#### A CHANGING SITUATION

in Britain and sharing the southern market on a 50-50 basis. In the last period it has felt sufficiently strong to break that agreement. With the rise of the Common Market, the souther bourgeoisie has faced the choice of either going in with Britain or staying out and stagnating. The logic of its position is that it is better to go in and be the subject of a number of bourgeoisies than to be the subject of one. Britain, however, had to protect Southern Ireland for itself. British capitalism strove to integrate southern Irish agriculture with its own before the entry into the market. Accordingly from the mid-fifties onwards Free Trade agreements have been made between Britain and Ireland and each year tariffs between the two countries are reduced considerably.

What industry there is in the South are new industries such as electronics which are growing industries. These industries will be able to stand the pace of the Common Market. THe situation in the North is exactly the reverse. There the industries are older(Shipbuilding, linen). These industries still integrated to the British economy are precisely those which are declining throughout the economy.

The reason for the need to keep a military bridgehead against the southern bourgeoisie has bee declining too. Those troops were needed if the southern bourgeoisie got out of hand and restarted the national struggle. While De Valera held power this always remained a small possibility for he was basicly a Bonapartist. The trops were also needed if the southern bourgeoisie found itself incapable of controlling the masses in the South.

It was Harold Macmillan who first mooted a plan for the reform of the Northern regime. Wilson put pressure on the northern state to reform itself. O'Neill talked in terms of reform to a satisfy the British government. He did not act, however, hoping for the return of a Tory government. His talk however had raised hopes of reform from below. Another factor in the situation was the effects of the Butler Education Act. A few Catholics were able to enter Queen's University in Belfast and after this experience of education it was impossible for them to contemplate a return to the submissive role allotted to Catholics in the North. In fact throughout the North a generation exists which has not been defeated or had its spirit broken.

The timetable of refoirm has gone completely awry. British imperialism which had originally attyempted to encourage the Catholics, last week failed to repress them with 7000 troops and failed to smash the resistasnce in the

#### URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE!

The immediate prospect is one of continuing urban guerrilla warfare in the North continuing into the winter. That conflict may well spread into the south too. The Ulster Volunteer Force will try and mobilise a 'people's militia'. It will try to do again in 1970 what it did in 1920. This time, however, a number of factors aren't on their side. There is no civil war in the south and if there were one it would have a real meaning for Catholics in the North. The situation is not one like Rhodesia where the White Settlers can count on their superior technology over that of the surrounding areas. Any attempted pogrom would meet with intervention from the South. It would be unlikely that this intervention would be sponsored by the southern Irish government so that an attempt to overthrow that Government



giossal

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, THE; 1690:

Central myth in Orange ideology. William of Orange led an army against King James II. Orangemen believe that he delivered them from papacy. In fact he had the support of the Pope. James Connolly said ".....never in all the history of Ireland has there been a war in which the Irish people had less reason to be interested either on one side or the other."

#### BLACK AND TANG, THE:

British mercenary force sent to Ireland during the "troubles", (i.e. the guerrilla war of 1919-21). Name derived from their wearing of mixed police and army uniforms. Model for such forces as the S.A., the Blackshirts, the CRS and the 'B' Specials. Quotes include: " If in the vicinity a policeman is shot, five of the leading Sinn Feiners will be shot" and "....we will lay low every house that smells of the Sinn

#### C ARSON, SIR EDWARD:

Leader of resistance to Third Home Rule Bill, 1910-13. Organised armed Orange force, smuggled in German weapons, threatened Lloyd George's Liberal Government with insurrection, supported by large sections of Ulster and British ruling class. Died a well-known political figure 'honoured' by the British bourgeoisie.

#### CASEMENT, SIR ROGER:

Leading Irish patriot; attempted to recruit Irish prisoners of war in Germany during the First World War for a force to participate in the Easter Rising(see below). Was unsuccessful and was captured by the British bringing in German arms. Hanged at Pentonville, 3 August 1916, after trial in which Carson's right-hand man led prosecution.

#### C ITTZEN ARMY, THE IRISH:

World's first workers' militia, formed during the Dublin General Strike of 1913, to protect meetings etc., from the police and British troops. James Connolly became Commandant and turned it into a well-trained, highly motivated revolution

#### CLANN na h-EIREANN:

Present day wing of the Republican Movement [in Britain] .

#### COLLINS, MICHAEL:

Military leader of the struggle against the British during the troubles. Signed the treaty with the British in 1921 which accepted partition. During the Civil War ( ie the struggle between those who accepted the treaty, the 'Free State' forces, and those who rejected it, the 'Republicans') he was executed by the Republicans.

#### CONNOLLY, JAMES (1868-1916):

Born in Edinburgh of Irish parents, always regarded himselflas an Irishman. In his youth became involved in agitation on behalf of Irish tenant farmers, became a Marxist, and was a founder of the Marxist movement in Scotland. During his years in Edinburgh he was influenced by the ideas of a fellow Irish/Scott, who argued that since every other class in Irish society had failed, the liberation of Ireland could only be achieved by the working class, and that the perspective had to be that of a 'Workers' Republic

In 1896 Connolly first went to Ireland and founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party based on this concept. He was strongly opposed to other tendencies (like the Social Democratic Federation which completely ignored the national question and appealed to Irish workers solely on the basis of economic issues as if they were part of the British working class). Unfortunay tely after some years the Party broke up amidst bitter internal disputes. Connolly emigrated to the United States in 1903.

In the USA he became involved in Daniel De Leon's, Socialist Labour Party, and through it he came into contact with the IWW, 'the wobblies' and became one of their organisers. Connolly found DE Leon's dogmatism and sectarianism distasteful. He broke with the SLP and joined the American Socialist Party, which at that time had a vigorous left wing. It was at this time that he wrote his greatest book, "Labour in Irish History", not only the best Marxist work on Ireland, but also a striking vindication of Historical Materialism. The theme of the book is to prove his thesis of the 'Workers Republic'. The method and conclusions bear a marked resemblance to Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. The book is a remarkable achievment, particularly in view of the fact that the bok was written before the Russian Revolution

It was at this time that Connolly altered his position on the Labour movement and the National Question. At Ireland expected the British Liberal Government to grant Ireland Home Rule. If this happened the national struggle, while not disappearing, would become less important and Connolly saw the need for a united working class movement to struggle against the Irish employers in this situation. So he placed greter emphasis on working class unity than on the national

However when it became clear that the government were going to compromise with Carsonism and impose Partition on Ireland he saw clearly that this would lead to a " carnival of reaction, North and South", and would hold back the struggle for decades. He changed tack completely, and began propagandising for a national struggle against partition, for a Republic. On the outbreak of the First World War his mind was made up completely. There had to be an insurrection while Britain was militarily engaged in Europe. His purpose became so transparent, in the pages of his paper, "The Workers Republic" that the IRB, afraid that he would make the British suspicious, offered him an alliance, and told him of their plans for a rising in Easter week 1916. Connolly accepted the plans and was co-opted on to the IRB war council.

Badly wounded in the fighting in the GPO during the Rising, Connolly was nevertheless tried by the British after its defeat. Too ill to stand he was shot strapped to a chair. There are few finer examples of the capacity of the working class to produce great leaders than James Connolly.

#### DAIL EIREANN:

The illegal "parliament" set up by the Sinn Fein members who were elected to Westminster in 1918. They refused to take their seats and instead set up the Dail. Gradually took over large parts of the administration of Ireland from the British, thus making the occupation of Ireland more and more untenable.

#### DE VALERA, EAMON:

President of Ireland. A leader of the Easter Rising, American citizen. Led the Republicans during the Civil War. In 1927 recognised the Free State Government, splitting from Sinn Fein and forming Fianna Fail(see below).

#### EASTER RISING, THE:

On Easter Monday, 1916, a small party of Citizen Army men and Irish Volunteers marched up to the front of the Dublin GPO. On hearing Connolly command: " At the GPO., charge!" they ran into and occupied the GPO. Shortly after Padraig Pearse read out from the steps of the GPO the Proclamation of the Irish Republic

Despite their very effective guerrilla tactics, largely inspired by Connolly, the defeat of the Rising was inevitable. The tiny forces of the rebels were no match for the British Army, and after a week of fighting they were forced to surrender.

The importance of the Easter Rising does not lie in its military success or failure, but in the political repercussions it had. The heroism of the rebels, their courage when executed by a mean and vindictive British justice, helped to inspire a qualitatively different national feeling in Ireland. In 1918, Sinn Fein, (taken over by the IRB and infused with the spirit of the Easter Week) in the General Election following the end of the war, captured nearly every seat outside the Six Counties of what is now Northern Ireland, set up the Dail Eirrean and began the guerrilla war which was to. lead to the expulsiuon of British Imperialism from virtually two thirds of Ireland, before the treaty of 1921.

#### EMMET ROBERT:

Leader of an attempted rising in 1803. Famous Irish hero

#### FAMINE, THE IRISH:

Otherwise known as the Great starvation. The Irish peasantry had been reduced to reliance on the potato for sustenance. In 1845-6/7 the crop was successively destroyed by potato blight. Deaths from disease and hunger, along with emigration reduced the population of Ireland by a third, the rural population by a half. DURING ALL THOSE YEARS IRELAND SENT TO ENGLAND ENOUGH CATTLE, CORN AND DAIRY PRODUCTS TO FEED ALL THOSE WHO STARVED TWICE OVER. "God sent the blight, but the English landlords sent the famine."

#### FENIANS, THE:

Generic term for 'physical force' conspiratorial movements, aiming at armed insurrection against

government, abolished oath of loyalty to the British monarch, set up Eire as a Republic, politically independent of Britain. Attempted by protective tariffs to get some measure of independence fore the development of Irish industry, failed, and made concessions in 1935. Has since become a complete Green Tory party, reflecting needs of the most powerful section of Irish capitalism, i.e. for a neo-colonialist subjection by British capital. Because of its 'Republican' aura was able to a certain extent to contain developments in the South in summer 1969, but since then has split over the 'gun-running' scandal and can now be seen as the direct agent of British Imperialism.

#### FINE GAEL:

Other main 'Green Tory' party. Represents the Irish land-owning bourgeoisie.

#### GRIFFITH ARTHUR:

Leader of old Sinn Fein (not to be confused with present day Sinn Fein: see below under Republican Movement) formed in 1908 to represent small businessmen who dreamed of an independent Irish cap] italism(including Irish colonies). Reactionary in ideology, Griffith savagely attacked the workers during the Dublin Strike of 1913 and along with Collins negotiated the compromise of 1921.

#### IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY(IRA):

The military wing of the Republican Movement. Originated as armed forces of Dail Eireann, fused out of the Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers.

#### IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD:

A conspiratorial organisation, the inner core of Fenianism. Worked to train and arm Irishmen for a struggle against British domination. Operated secretly within various political organisations, such as Sinn Fein (old) and cultural organisations such as the Gaelic League, through the Irish Volunteers etc. After the Easter rising took over the shell of the old Sinn Fein, and made it a consistently Fenian movement.

#### IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION(ITGWU):

Founded in 1909 by James Larkin (see below) it was inspired by syndicalist concepts, which were reinforced on Connolly's return from America from where he brought back the concepts of the Wobblies and the combativity of the American Labour Movement. Organised the dock, tramway and other workers in Dublin and rapidly spread to other industrial centres in Ireland. In the vanguard of organising women workers and fighting for Eqyal Pay. Fought a fierce battle with Dublin employers in 1913, during which 20,000 workers were locked out. Despite the determination of the Bosses to smash it and despite the sell-out by the British TUC it was able to hold off this attack. Its headquarters, Liberty Hall, were used as a centre for the Citizen's Army and the preparation of the Easter Uprising.

#### IRISH VOLUNTEERS:

Open military organisation founded in 1913 to defend Home Rule against Carsonism, speedlly became a mass Republican militia. The IRB was in secret control, but left the open command in the hand of non-militant nationalists. When the nominal head, Eoin MacNeil discovered the plans for the Easter rising he countermanded the order for mobilisation that weekend: a confusion that cost the Rising the active support of thousands of armed men.

#### LALOR, JAMES FINTAN:

Revolutionary thinker who inspired the struggle on the land against landlordism. He made a major contribution to Fenianism.

#### LARKIN, JAMES:

Liverpudlian Ir ish Trade Union leader, went to Ireland as an organiser for the British National Union of Dock Labourers, split from them because of their refusal to back militant action and also because of their lack of understanding of Irish workers problems. He founded the ITGWU and was the leader of the 1913 strike in Dublin. Supported Connolly in preparing the Easter Rising, but was in USA when it occured. In USA supported the founding of the Communist International, and helped found the Communist Labour Party of the USA. On his return to Ireland in 1923 was dissatisfied with the reformism of the ITGWU leadership and he split the Union. Gradually drifted away from the Communist International but remained a maverick on the left of Irish politics for many

#### MARKIEVIEZ, COUNTESS OF:

The original women's liberation movement. A classe close associate of Connolly, organised aid for the Dublin workers in 1913. Was an officer in the Citizens Army and commanded a detachment during the Easter Rising. Was extremely indignant when she was not executed aftrwards....because she was a woman.

#### O'CONNELL, DANIEL:

Also known as 'The Liberator'. Bourgeois leader who fought for Catholic emancipation. His Catholic Association, while gaining important concessions for the severely oppressed Catholics at the same time helped the British ruling class insofar that it sought to contain the violent peasant Protestant peasant terrorist societies for Ulster to keep Catholics off the land. H enslaved the minds of successive genera Protestant workers with a reactionary mythological ideology and acted as bas violent protection of Protestant privileg Northern Ireland. Quote from an Orang "Get down you papish dogs, you've sci time to pray,

Before we throw your carcasses, right o Dolly's Brae."

#### PARNELL, CHARLES STEWART:

Leader of Irish Home Rule Party in Westminster. After failure of armed struggle this party by fighting for constitutional demands helped to lay be rise of national consciousness. Parnell's tactics in the Commons of disrupting b order to force the demand for Home R to give Irishmen a new pride and confid His political career was brought to an u end as the result of an unfortunate divo in which he was involved and which wa in the most vicious way imaginable by t ruling class and its pet dogs in the yello

#### PEARSE, PADRAIG HENRY:

Leader of the Easter Rising and of the I tremendous orator he was also the poet of Fenianism. Greatly admired Connolly influenced by him to support the works Shot by British Imperialism after the Ea

#### REDMOND, JOHN:

Leader of the Nationalist Party, the mai expression of Irish national consciousne before 1916. Represented those Irish capitalists who desired a neo-colonialist relationship with Britain, through Home Rule under the British Crown. On the o of the First World War he ordered a halt Rule agitation and plunged into the task recruiting Irishmen for the British Army Denounced the Easter Rising.

#### REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, THE:

Collective term for Sinn Fein, the IRA a exile organisations like Clann na h-Eirea Split last year ostensibly over the issue of taking seats in the Dail, Stormont or

Westminster. In fact the issues are far n complex. The minority, ca lled 'The Provisionals' carry on the old, purely na Republicanism, although their greater er on physical force' means that they als some ultra-left elements. The majority h out clearly for the 'workers republic' as perspective for the Irish national struggl emphasise political action and the gaining support amongst the workers much mor have been very much involved in the cur (1970) cement strike in the South and t squatters movement in Dublin.

TAOISEACH(pronounced tee shoc): Gaelic for 'Chief', the title of the Irish i Minister.

#### STARRY PLOUGH, THE:

Flag of the Irish Left it was origina flag of the Citizen Army. It was green w yellow plough with the stars of the plou constellation on it. Now it has been styl a blue flag with the plough constellation white or silver stars. The plough symbol labour and the stars symbolise the heigh to which labour must aspire.

#### TONE, THEOBALD WOLF (1763-98):

Leader of the United Irishmen; revolution democratic thinker influenced largely by of Tom Paine and the French Revolution a Protestant he fought for Catholic emar During the war between France and Brit United Irishmen were suppressed and To driven into exile. First he went to the Ur but in 1796 he went to France to negotia invasion in order to spark off an insurrec against the British. The French sent a for 1797, but were unsuccessful. From then tions of a French landing were high. Foll news of the 1798 rising, Tone sailed for with another French force. He was captu was sentenced to death by hanging, but b his execution committed suicide. Quote Tone: "Our independence must be had a hazards. If the men of property will not s us they must fall. We can support ourselv aid of that numerous and respectable class community, the men of no property."

#### **ULSTER VOLUNTEERS:**

Carsonite military force formed in 1913 to Home Rule. A distasteful combination of orangemen, aristocratic young officers and

#### UNITED IRISHMEN, SOCIETY OF:

Revolutionary-democratic movement form in 1791 under the impact of the French revolution. Originally supported by progre bourgeois, rapidly gained support from po farmers and workers. Driven underground outbreak of war between Britain and Fran 1794. Organised military resistance and we