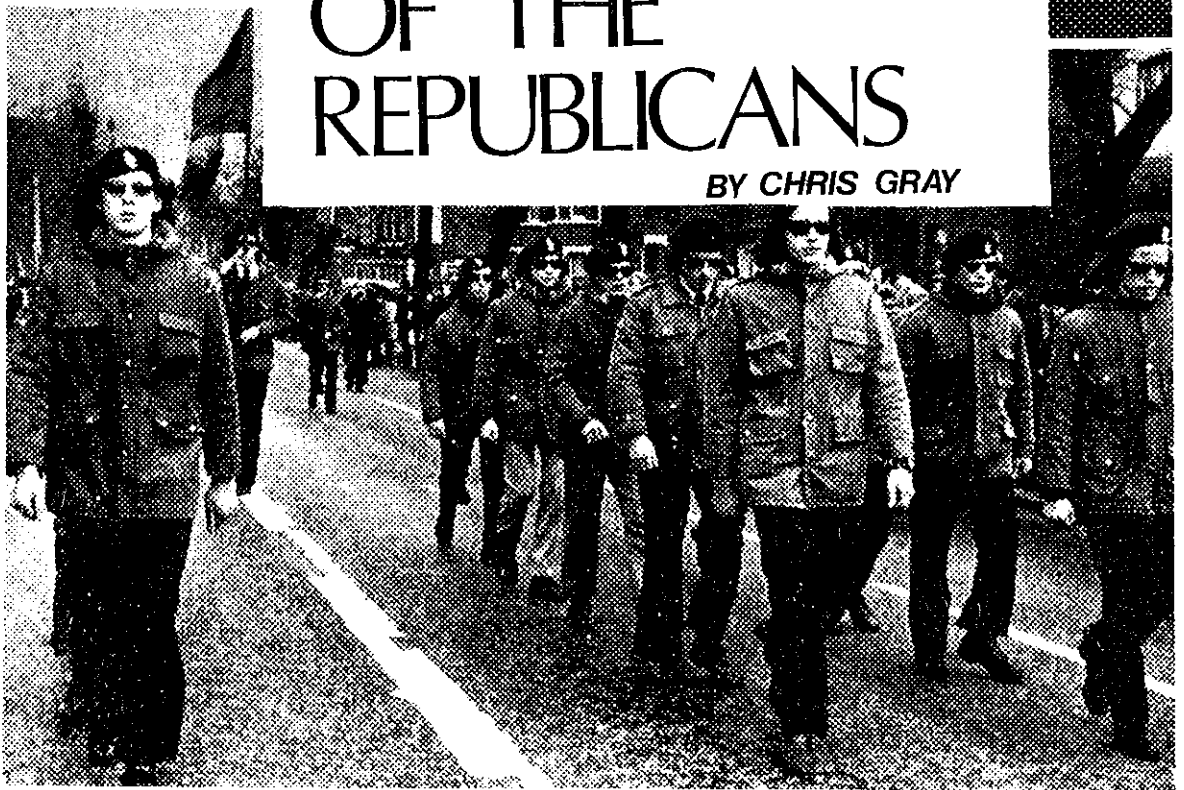




PROGRAMMES OF THE REPUBLICANS

BY CHRIS GRAY



This article will examine the political programme of the two sections of the Republican movement, both of which claim to be socialist and to be fighting for the establishment of a Workers' Republic. It will deal mainly with the two policy statements "Eire Nua" ("New Ireland"), published by the Provisional wing of Sinn Fein, 1971, and the "Manifesto of the Irish Workers and Small Farmers' Republic" issued by the Officials in the same year.

A programme for a Workers' Republic must be judged on its usefulness in

(a) gaining support among the republican working class

(b) eroding - as far as is possible - the support among workers currently enjoyed by Orange Unionism in the Six Counties.

(c) creating a movement which will unite the working class, numerous intermediate strata eg. small farmers and other petty bourgeois - on the basis of workers' power being in their own best interests.

(d) abolishing capitalism in Ireland and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clearly the programme is not the only element in the situation which can make or mar success: there are numerous others ranging from the changing condition of the world capitalist economy to the political skill of the organisation's leaders at any given moment. Equally clearly an evaluation of "Eire Nua" or the "Manifesto" must assume an analysis of Ireland's place within the system of world capitalism and the peculiar conditions which arise as a result of Imperialist domination. Also the historical experience of the socialist movement from at least the Paris Commune onwards is ignored only at peril: no struggle for socialism can be successful without taking the lessons of this international experience into account, and Ireland, as the historical record makes clear, is not sealed off from the effects of workers' struggles elsewhere.

1) RELATIONS WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE EEC.

The key to an assessment of the programmes is the relationship with imperialism which is envisaged. Irish workers require a plan for real, not merely nominal independence from foreign oppression.

They will not find it in "Eire Nua". The Provisionals summarize their policy as follows:

"Power blocs such as NATO and the EEC on the one hand and COMECON and the Warsaw Pact on the other will be avoided. Trade will be expanded with the smaller and neutral nations of Europe and with the countries of the third world in Asia and Africa. . . . Trade links will be maintained with all countries and groups of states such as the Common Market, with which a trade agreement should be negotiated. The aim will be to have as much free trade as possible, bearing in mind that certain industries will need protection for a period. . . . Efforts to push us into the Common Market will be rigorously resisted and a demand will be made for the revoking of the Free Trade Area Agreement with England." (1) They talk of "Ireland assuming for the first time its rightful place as the leader of the ex-colonial nations in the struggle against imperialism" (2) Trade links with

Britain will be nationalized by the development of marketing organizations as subsidiaries of Irish producers, suitably co-ordinated by an efficient State trading organization. Links would be developed with all possible outlets to the British market, especially with the British consumers' co-operative movement." (3) As for EEC, "Sinn Fein would do as Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Austria, Iceland, Yugoslavia and many other European countries have done; seek Associate Membership or a trade agreement with the EEC while diversifying trade as much as possible." (4)

One does not have to be a wizard in economics to see the limitations of these ideas: the amount of Irish manufactured goods saleable in the Third World is surely going to be kept down by competition not only from the capitalist west but also from Eastern Europe. Then there is the problem of dependence on the British Market which trade diversification is designed to solve: over two-thirds of exports from the 26 Counties are sold across the water, while 90% of Six Counties exports find their way to the UK either for sale or re-export (5) - an enormous imbalance to have to correct. Furthermore attempts to alter the pattern of trade will inevitably generate resistance from those sections of the bourgeoisie involved as in the "Economic War" of the 30s. This means that the problem cannot be handled from the Irish end merely by the development of "a foreign trade section" which will "assume the role of agent for any firm wishing to develop non-British trade links, . . . fulfilling a role at present inadequately fulfilled by Coras Trachtala." (6) What is required is a state monopoly of foreign trade not "as much free trade as possible" - and that only as a start, as the problems facing Yugoslavia in relation to EEC show: a political orientation of a different kind is also required (see below). The authors of "Eire Nua" blithely assume that Ireland can repeat with impunity the experience of such varying economies as those of Switzerland and Iceland (population 200,000) in maintaining a modus vivendi with Imperialism. This assumption ignores not only the needs of big capital in Ireland, which are for full integration into EEC, but also the different geographical distances of the economies listed from the central EEC economic triangle Brussels-Ruhr-Lorraine. Investments in EEC will tend more and more to gravitate towards this triangle, ie. the effect will be that of growth at the centre and stagnation on the fringes. (Compare the privileged position of Slovenia and Croatia in Yugoslavia vis-a-vis the Republics of Macedonia and Montenegro). The creation of a 32 County Republic will not of itself alter the trend. Nor will it prove possible to revise the 1965 Trade Agreement at the drop of a hat; indeed the attitude of Britain's capitalist rulers is likely to be as uncompromising as that of the Eurocrats faced with an Irish request for "external association" with EEC. (7)

Turning to the Official wing of Sinn Fein, we read that socialism can only be achieved in Ireland "when the country is freed from imperialism, particularly British imperialism; when the nation is unified, a single Irish state rules over the whole country, and foreign economic penetration of the Irish economy, North and South, ceases" (8)

This is quite correct, but in practice a 32 County socialist republic would experience severe economic pressure from Imperialism, pressure which the framers of Official republican policy appear to underestimate. Way back in 1967 the Wolfe Tone society published a paper on EEC in which it declared that "an ordinary commercial agreement with the Common Market would enable Ireland to maintain her freedom to diversify her trade outlets with countries other than Britain or the EEC." While something of this sort will no doubt prove necessary in the short term, it does not follow that the terms of any such agreement would be ideal as far as Ireland is concerned: an independent Irish Workers' Republic playing the role of a socialist offshore island could only exist by permission of Common Market capitalism, which would grant the right to existence only at a price. The Workers' Republic would be forced to spread the revolution: does the Official Sinn Fein have any strategy for so doing?

It is arguable that the recent increase of mining operations in the Twenty Six Counties, and in particular the new lead and zinc mine at Navan, have increased the prospects for Irish economic independence. This depends, of course, on the nationalization of the mines. This is not explicitly envisaged "Eire Nua". It is possible that the provisionals would put forward a policy which fell short of nationalization in this sphere. Clearly, the Official Sinn Fein envisages nationalization without compensation along the lines of the recent report of the Resources Study Group. Such a policy is indispensable for the success of the Irish socialist revolution.

2) AGRICULTURE

"Eire Nua" informs us that for the whole 32 counties "about 60% of the agricultural holdings are of 30 acres (12 hectares) or less" (p. 22) This fact alone gives agricultural policy an important place in any Republican programme, but equally if not more important is the agricultural contribution to Irish exports (10) Under current conditions ranchers and medium-sized farmers do markedly better than small farmers and the summary of what is taking place is one of the best pieces of writing in "Eire Nua." As the authors observe "The trend is for small holdings to be amalgamated and their owners to emigrate, so that the middle group is increasing at the expense of the small group. The large group is stable" (11) Back in 1966 an article in "An Solas" (IWG quarterly magazine) discussed the problem and gave some pointers to a solution, explaining that "The small farmer needs cheap credit, agricultural machines - which could only be provided by government machine shops in each rural district - fertiliser and modern technical instruction at prices he can afford; favourable conditions of transport and conscientious organisation of the market for his produce. But the banks, trusts and merchants rob him from every side, aggravating the fluctuations of the market. Farm produce can double in price before it reaches the city. Only the farmers themselves, with the help of the workers can stop this robbery, by taking direct control of the transport, credit and mercantile operations affecting agriculture, and running them democratically through committees of workers, bank employees and small farmers." (12) The article advocated voluntary collectivization. The groups 1967 programme also came out for the nationalization of large estates and "capitalist agricultural undertakings."

What do we find in "Eire Nua"? Voluntary co-operation, state subsidies, guaranteed prices, a ceiling on the amount of land owned by one person, compulsory purchase of land of absentee landlords, formation of marketing co-operatives, credit facilities at nominal interests etc. (13) This looks like a somewhat similar

response, but the underlying "state socialist" approach is very marked in "Eire Nua" in comparison with the Trotskyist emphasis on direct working-class and small farmer initiative; readers may judge which is preferable.

Curiously, the "Manifesto of the Irish Workers and Small Farmers Republic" has remarkably little to say about agriculture; a few remarks on co-operation exhaust the subject in its pages. The emphasis is on voluntary co-operation here at least the ghost of J.V. Stalin has finally been laid to rest, it would seem! - with the further qualification that "only certain elements of the productive process - such as purchasing, marketing and the provision, for example, of repair and maintenance services - would come under co-operative ownership on the establishment of a socialist society in Ireland, as these are the developments which would be of most immediate benefit to the small farmers of the country." (p. 7) More than this will be required, however, in the way of specific policies if the small farmer is to be weaned from dependence on capitalism in Ireland: the small farmer needs to be convinced that the workers are capable of acting independently of big capital, to the extent of being able to seize power, before he will throw in his lot with them. The crucial task is the elaboration of a programme which will not only satisfy the needs of the small farmer on paper, but will also be able to mobilize the working class in the desired direction.

3) INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, NATIONALISATION AND WORKERS' CONTROL

If the foregoing is correct it follows that a mere extension of formal political independence will not solve by itself the economic problems facing a victorious workers' revolution in Ireland. As Marx said, men make history but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves. It is not just a question of whether the IRA is socialist, but of what kind of policies are advocated in the name of socialism, and of the underlying political strategy. Hence a brief examination of the various forms of social ownership proposed by the two programmes is necessary here.

"Eire Nua" calls for "the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the proclamation of 1916" and the creation of a social system in which "exploitation of man by man will not feature and which will be truly democratic right down through society." Admirable sentiments. The programme also declares that "Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under State control. The principal agent of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the State." (One is reminded here of ... the Tribune wing of the British Labour Party, a resemblance surely not fully congenial to either the Provos or the Tributes!) "The State," declares "Eire Nua", "will have complete control over the import and export of money." (Well, no socialist government could survive without that, and its importance in the Irish context certainly justifies "Eire Nua's" extensive treatment of the question of finance).

Which, however, are Ireland's key industries and how will they be brought under state control? Turn to page 18 of the programme and we find:

"The Sinn Fein Government's programme for industry will have as its central principle that control over the further growth of the economy shall be in the hands of the people.

It will, therefore, be necessary for the Government to obtain a controlling interest in the commanding heights firms of key industries. The policy of management of these firms will then be to improve the performance of the economy as a whole rather than to maximise the profit of the individual firm, as at present. Likewise, the policy will not be to stamp out compet-

itors, but to enable a rational structure within each industry to be obtained, taking into account local and national needs." (15)

Here the Provisionals show, as the saying is, their "cloven hoof". The approach they adopt is associated in Ireland not with Nye Bevan but with . . . Eamon De Valera. Dev's policy of developing Irish capitalism involved state support in a number of key industries whose products affected other sectors - the typical capitalist approach to nationalization (16) Industries covered included transport (CIE, Aer Lingus), steel (Irish Steel Holdings Ltd.), shipping (Irish Shipping Ltd.) peat (Bord na Mona) and sugar (Comhlucht Siuicre Eireann Teo).

It is worth noting that "Eire Nua" refrains from presenting a "shopping list" of industries due for nationalization (17) "Rationalisation" is a much more accurate term for the changes they envisage. No doubt many of the proposals are technically sound, but from the point of view of the worker emphasis on "efficiency" in an economy that remains capitalist can only mean more redundancies, speed-ups, dole queues etc. (And much the same applies to the economy of a small isolated workers' state).

Aware of possible leftwing criticism, the authors of "Eire Nua" propose that

"Apart from the key sectors mentioned above the main instrument of economic development will be co-operative enterprises in production distribution and exchange. These will be based on the Comhar na gComharsan (good neighbour) philosophy which is founded on the right of worker-ownership and is native Irish as well as being co-operative or distributist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production in the form of farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative." (18)

So co-operation will be encouraged. But why not in "key sectors"? The authors' inconsistency here shows up this paragraph for what it is - gilt on the gingerbread. Co-operation is, no doubt, all very well for small enterprises catering for local needs, but what we really want is state-controlled capitalism if we are to survive on the world market: such is the reasoning. This "co-operative" ideal is a marvellous example of petty bourgeois individualism. Common ownership, you see, doesn't mean that we all own and control property in common: it means that you and I and Paudeen and Pegeen all own a little bit of our local co-op., and we each get our own share of the takings. This form of ownership is very limited, because quite clearly you can't take a piece of the enterprise home with you. All the "share" amounts to is an additional bonus. Decision-making in co-operatives is nowhere discussed either (19) The authors proudly claim that their proposals would lead to "real industrial democracy", I beg leave to retain my doubts on that score: the authors of "Eire Nua" have managed to produce a conception of socialism which is individualist to the core.

Not surprisingly the proposals of the Official Sinn Fein in this field differ widely from the above. An Official Republic "would involve the taking into public, municipal or co-operative ownership of the principal industries, factories and mines, together with the big shops and supermarkets, banks, Insurance companies and other financial institutions, and the encouragement of co-operative enterprise among farmers, smallholders, small manufacturers and shopkeepers." (20) Connolly's name, conspicuously absent from "Eire Nua" is invoked to justify this assault on big capital. The authors declare that "whatever the form of economic activity, the body which would determine policy would be the general meeting of those people concerned" (italics in the original). Workers, managers, suppliers and consumers representatives, municipal and state officials will, in medium and large

scale enterprises, collectively decided on policy, elect a Management Committee and so on. "The basic business decisions to pay bonus or to plough back profits, whether to expand by seeking more capital from the state or not - would be made by the management, who would be responsible to the regular general meeting . . ." (21) This they judge, would be sufficient to remove any conflict of interest between workers and management. But it is unlikely: no mention being made of wage or salary differentials, the right of recall of elected officials (managerial or state) or of the advantages in information and "expertise" enjoyed by the latter, Irish workers will be faced with a speedy growth of a bureaucratic caste which will arrogate to itself decision-making powers. It is all very well to invoke and quote Connolly, to speak of opening the books, to proclaim "People's Participation", but the result will be the opposite of what is intended unless there be a return to the basic principles of Lenin's "State and Revolution" (which will await implementation in Russia and Eastern Europe), to wit:

1. Free elections with the right of recall of all officials
2. No official to receive a higher wage than a skilled worker,
3. No standing army or police force, but the armed people
4. Gradual introduction of the principle of rotation of administrative tasks, so that all take a turn.

A programme for an Irish Workers' Republic must take this as its starting-point in the field of revolutionary government, and show how such a system would work. (22) It is because the authors of the Manifesto ignore the lessons of the Russian, East European and Chinese experience that we may conclude that these countries are being implicitly held up as the images of Ireland's future under official Sinn Fein rule. Such a degenerated, bureaucratically deformed Workers' Republic is not the goal to be striven for.

4) POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

"Eire Nua" is silent on this and its proposals are consistent with, on the one hand a typical western parliamentary democracy, and, on the other, a one-party dictatorship - or even a military dictatorship. (23)

The Manifesto's authors rightly criticize the "playing of parliamentary ins and outs" (24) but do not explicitly rule out the survival of parliament as an institution in the Workers' Republic. In line with this omission there is also complete absence of any reference to Workers' councils as political institutions. The authors allow more than one political party . . . provided, of course, that their own politics are the dominant force in the new state. This can be seen from the following passage:

"It is not possible to foresee at this stage what will be the exact form of the political party structure in the Irish Socialist Republic. This will be largely determined by the political evolution of the nation during the phase of national independence revolution, and the successful anti-imperialist struggle which is the prerequisite of any attempt to establish a socialist form of society in this country.

There will, however, be need for at least three main political groupings, based on the main social elements within the nation. There will be a Labour Group, uniting the interests of workers by land and brain; there will be a Co-operative Group, uniting the interests of small property-owners, farmers, retailers and owner-managers of enterprises; and there will be an activist political movement which will provide the guidance and political leadership necessary to hold the other elements together and which will chart the guidelines for the establishment of a socialist society in the country. This latter group will draw its member-

ship from the most politically conscious and socially committed elements of the people united by a theoretical understanding of the social process along the lines pioneered by Connolly, and will be the continuation of those Irish people who are at present committed to the achievement of national independence for the country and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Republic" (25) No prized for the name of the party of the last named

It is true that the Manifesto's authors do not rule out other groupings than their own in an endeavour to seek political alliances (26) In the context, however, of their refusal to espouse the idea of workers' councils similar to the Soviets of 1917, and in view of the Manifesto's vague language on these points it is reasonable to suspect them of all kinds of subterfuge to ensure that their own conceptions dominate both among the workers and among the republican masses in general. In opposition to this Trotskyists take their stand on a multi-party system operating in and through the workers' councils as the only means whereby socialism can be built in Ireland. Political formations not accepting the Workers' Republic ideal would certainly receive stern treatment, but when it comes to the expressions of opinion in a workers' state there is a need for very clear institutional means to promote a multiplicity of choices, combined with full information on which individuals can make up their minds. The ideal that the correct line is all the time the exclusive property on one tendency is one which must be vigorously fought.

5) CULTURE AND THE IRISH LANGUAGE

The authors of Eire Nua declare that "the Irish language and Irish culture will have an important part in the national effort and their strengthening will have special attention" (27) and they propose a number of measures be taken for the revival of these, including the gradual adoption of Irish by "all government, semi-government and state-sponsored bodies", a vast educational programme, a special Gaeltacht board with elected representatives from all Gaeltacht areas to control all Gaeltacht institutions, the reorganization of radio and T.V., the creation of a national film industry, etc. etc. Many of these ideas are good ones and deserve whole-hearted support. Socialists who refuse this on the grounds that there are too many languages in the world already, that it is the destiny of small nations' languages to disappear, and so on, are guilty of cultural chauvinism; the Irish language is indissolubly linked with the distinctive historical contribution of the Irish people to human civilization in general and to allow it to die would be to acquiesce in the completion of one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated on an unfortunate nation by British imperialism and its reactionary allies). However, from the point of view of the unification of the Irish working class, which includes, of course, the Six Counties proletariat, one of Eire Nua's proposals might cause difficulty, namely the goal of Irish as a compulsory subject in all schools (28) (They also want it as "the first language in all schools" p.42) Here the pace of implementation is crucial. The authors recognize that "the rate of progress will be slower in the Six Counties than in the rest of the country." Would it not be more politic, however, to state specifically that in all areas the subject should be optional in schools, and so avoid the imposition of the language by outmoded teaching methods, which has already served to alienate large numbers of schoolchildren in the 26 counties?

That this is an important political question is shown by yet another consideration. I get the impression from reading "Eire Nua" that its authors have a somewhat static conception of Irish culture (29) It is well to bear in mind what Lenin wrote on the subject of national culture:

"The slogan of national culture is bourgeois... deception. Our slogan is the international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement..."

Every national culture contains elements, even if not developed, of democratic and socialist culture, for in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose living conditions inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also has a bourgeois culture (and most national also have a Black-Hundred (30) and clerical culture, too) that takes the form, not merely of elements but of the dominant culture. Therefore, the general national culture is the culture of the landed proprietors, the clergy and the bourgeoisie...

In presenting the slogan 'international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement' we take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements, we take them solely and unconditionally as a counterbalance to bourgeois culture, to the bourgeois nationalism of each nation." (31)

The above approach avoids the error of "Irish for Irish sake" in cultural matters. It means the support of writers like Behan and O'Casey in preference to the more esoteric Yeats or the more obscurantist element in Joyce; It means the promotion of peasant rather than "bardic" poetry, folk music rather than the archaic and elitist "Geol na nUasal" (music of the gentry). Above all it means the opening of Irish culture to international influences which operate on the side of progress rather than reaction (clerical or otherwise). By these means the democratic elements of Irish Protestant tradition can be developed; thus it will be possible to draw the Protestant workers into the main stream of the national life in a way that will not suppress their personality, and Tone's goal of the replacement of the denominations of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter by the "common name of Irishman" will be finally achieved.

6) EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH

This brings us naturally to policy on education and on religion.

The stranglehold operated by the religious authorities on education in both halves of partitioned Ireland is well known, and it is of prime importance to break this and to institute a system of comprehensive state education which will enable children from different backgrounds to enjoy common schooling from the beginning. Such a system would not, of course, set out to deprive children of at-knowledge of religion altogether, it would only ensure that the reactionary viewpoints of the Catholic Hierarchy and the Orange Order would not reign supreme in the classroom no matter what subject was being taught (This follows, of course, from what we said about culture). Such an approach is absolutely essential if the Irish Workers' Republic is to survive. (32)

The authors of "Eire Nua" have an entirely different approach:

"Sinn Fein educational policy will aim to ensure the development and equipment of all the moral, intellectual and physical powers of our children so that they will become God fearing and responsible citizens of a free independent nation. The rights of the family as the primary and natural educator of the child (including the humanist family?) and the spiritual interests of the various religious denominations shall be acknowledged within the framework of an educational system whose philosophy shall be to unify the people into one nation with one national consciousness." It speaks for itself, doesn't it?

Curiously, the Manifesto of the Irish Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic does not mention education at all, except where it declares that "Social cultural and educational functions will primarily be

administered at local level, as these areas of activity are most suited for extensive public participation by citizens." (p.11) This is fine, so far as it goes, but there is no avoiding the main issue in all this "clerical culture". It so happens that because of Ireland's unique historical development the main ideological support of the bourgeoisie North and South comes from the Churches. This unpleasant fact debars the Churches from control of education in a Workers' Republic: it cannot be otherwise. (So far as I know the Pope has not endorsed the Fourth International's Transitional Programme, nor is there any likelihood of his doing so).

Socialists in Ireland will also be aware of the typical Orange worker's arguments against unification with the South. Both programmes conspicuously ignore them. In this connection an interesting correspondence is in progress at the time of writing in "An Phoblacht": the March issue carries an open letter from "Bill, an orangeman on the Shankhill" which puts some very pertinent questions to the Provisionals and, by implication, to all Republican socialists. Bill asks whether Orange parades would be banned under Provo rule, and points out that "Eire Nua" makes no mention of any right to contraception or divorce (or for that matter, Article 44 of the Free State Constitution). "Can you be a little more specific?" he asks. It is up to us all to oblige him. (34) In any case a Workers' Republic which did not give social services equal to those currently available in Britain and which prohibited divorce and birth control for those who might want them would not be worth having.

In my view, neither programme meets the criteria laid down at the beginning of this article.

What both these programmes lack is any conception of the role of transitional demands in mobilising mass support against imperialism. Both programmes aim at the maximum without trying to bridge the gap between what their authors regard as necessary and what the mass of the Irish people subjectively want. As a result both run the risk of eventual isolation as the struggle ebbs. But even supposing the initial victory was won there would still be severe limitations on the ability of either grouping to satisfy the needs of the Irish working class. It is up to Irish socialists to evolve a strategy to meet those needs, and up to British socialists to help them.

JULY 1972

NOTES

1. Eire Nua p. 4
2. EN p. 7
3. EN p. 54
4. *ibid*
5. John Palmer IS 5t, p. 16; Paul Gerardt, *ibid.*, p. 22
6. EN p. 10
7. Sweden has so far resisted attempts by the EEC bosses to bring her into line, but the advantage the Swedish bosses possess is that they are virtual top dogs within the Scandinavian market - a position in the British isles market held not by the Green Tories but by ... another breed of Tories across the water.
8. Manifesto p. 2 (*Italics in the original*)
9. The EEC capitalists would doubtless be faced with a furious guerilla struggle should they decide to crush the new workers' revolution by force of arms, but that is a different story.

10. An indication of the importance of agriculture in 26 foreign trade is the value of live animals and food exported in 1967 £153.3 million out of £275.7 million total exports - which shows the exposed state of the Irish economy in the world market. See C. Hultman "Ireland in World Commerce" Mercier Press 1969, pp. 19-21.

11. EN p. 22 Entry into EEC will of course accelerate the small farmers demise and benefit the ranchers.
12. An Solas 15-16 1966, p. 8 Cf Transitional Programme pp. 25-6
13. EN pp. 24-25
14. Eire Nua does, however, touch on a possible export policy, viz "to export only certain specialist products commanding high prices, such as processed food of all kinds and dead meat" (p. 25) This is not a subject which socialists can afford to ignore, as I have tried to indicate. Its proper treatment belongs in a separate article on the economic problems of an Irish workers' state.
15. EN pp. 18-19
16. Even here Dev was anticipated by the original Free State government to some degree. See Garret Fitzgerald "State-Sponsored Bodies", Inst. of Public Administration, Dublin, 1963, ch. 3 Fitzgerald lists some 55 institutions, of which 34 are classed as trading enterprises.
17. Only one industry is specifically earmarked for this treatment - distilling.
18. EN p. 4
19. Despite some useful proposals on co-operative building (p. 21) it is clear that for the authors co-ops are a minor matter. It is worth noting that whereas on p. 4 the authors claim that private enterprise will have no place in key industries, on p. 19 they declare that "the policy will not be to stamp out" competition. (Inot thy left hand know what thy right hand doth!)
20. Manifesto p. 5
21. *Ibid.*, pp 8-9
22. The programme of the Trotskyist Irish Workers' Group for example published in 1967, talks of "a regime of Workers' Councils, organised in a pyramid with immediate recall at each level as a guarantee of representativeness" (Workers' Republic, Winter 1967/8 p. 5) and speaks of a "semi-state" of the working class. Stalinism, whether Maoist, Khrushchevite or Titoist, deliberately departs from this conception. Some socialist schools of thought would go even further in attempting to counter the inevitable tendency to bureaucratism which arises in the aftermath of proletarian revolution, but space prevents a full discussion of this fascinating problem here. (See Appendix)
23. While military dictatorship is not entirely foreign to Republican tradition, the Provisionals can hardly be accused of wishing to institute one.
24. Manifesto p. 13
25. *Ibid.* Italics in the original
26. *Ibid* p. 14
27. EN p. 4
28. See section entitled An Ghaeilge
29. See EN p. 39 where the authors discuss the language's role in endowing the Irish nation with "a distinctive mind of its own. This distinctive nationality enshrines all the spiritual and intellectual possessions and characteristics which we have and which distinguish us from other peoples" This is of course true for the Irish nation as for any other, but there is a danger of conservatism inherent in an attachment to see all such "spiritual and intellectual possessions and characteristics" for their own sake.
30. i.e. reactionary landlord
31. Lenin, "Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism" pp. 28-29. Italics in original.
32. Any Republican who thinks differently should ask himself why Cardinal Conway and his associates saw fit to apply a break to the national struggle being waged in the North immediately after the recent "in-

initiative" irrespective of whether the people desired it, and launch a political attack on the Provisional IRA; why the Catholic Hierarchy was, throughout Irish history, never failed in its support of the most reactionary elements in Ireland, whether native or Imperialist; why the Hierarchy opposed 1798, 1867, 1916, 1919-21, and so on. This is not to deny that individual priests have occasionally chosen the opposite course, even that in some cases priests holding political views similar to those of the late Camillo Torres may exist; however, it is necessary for socialists to make clear that the only priests they

are prepared to work with are those who fight "for the Cross and the Revolution", as in Cuba. (That appears to rule out Dr Paisley anyway).

33. On the question of Orange parades, surely it is in all our interests as workers that these lose their present character as provocative assertions of Ulster Unionist ascendancy and become transformed into assertions of something more democratic; if such a change is possible - which I rather doubt - and if Orangemen can be trusted to accept a Workers' Republican Constitution, then by all means let them march.

THE WORKERS REPUBLIC

The only road to the re-organisation of society is the conquest of state power by the working class. The proletariat must take power, turn it against the class enemy, and use it as a lever to expropriate the exploiting classes and imperialism, establish the Workers' Republic and begin the economic and social transformation - the building of socialism. The workers' conquest of power will not mean achieving majorities in bourgeois parliaments and installing socialist ministers to drive the existing state machinery. Workers' power necessitates the breaking up of the political power of the bourgeoisie by the mass action of the armed working class, and the breaking up of the existing state apparatus which sanctifies and defends the exploiting class. The existing state with its bourgeois-type army, led by bourgeois officers; its civil and political police - and in the North the sectarian special constables; its judges, prison wardens and governors; its priests of the various persuasions and other ideologists; its civil service, functionaries and officials; its sham parliamentary "democracy": - this will all be dismantled. Workers' power means the disarming of the bourgeoisie and their officer castes and other reactionary armed groups - and the self-arming of the proletariat organised as a Citizen Red Army. It means the abolition of the bourgeois laws - with their typically bourgeois bias in favour of property against life - and law courts; and it means their replacement by workers' law and proletarian courts. It means the secularisation of all state and social life: the elimination of all religious instruction in schools, the removal from religious institutions of all state patronage and subsidy, the making of religion into a private matter in relation to society, thus finally eliminating in practice, by guaranteeing both freedom of worship and full freedom of atheistic propaganda, the sectarian rivalries which have helped Imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie to split the working class.

In short it means the elaboration of working class organs of administration of a new type, and with this the complete, transparent democratisation of all social life, best expressed in the replacement of bourgeois

APPENDIX

parliamentarianism by a regime of Workers' Councils, organised in a pyramid with immediate recall at each level as a guarantee of representativeness. All states before the October Revolution were organs of a ruling minority to suppress and manipulate the vast exploited majority, and therefore functioned through a permanent bureaucracy attuned to the needs of the ruling class. The Workers' Republic is the rule of the majority, organised through the workers' councils, without standing army or permanent bureaucracy, needing repression only initially against the formerly exploiting minority. Therefore the character of this semi-state of the working class is radically different. Whereas bourgeois democracy is based on a state of exploitation of the vast majority, and is only an empty, legalist formula masking a bourgeois dictatorship, the Workers' Republic means real democracy, the reality of the controlling will of the proletariat: it is democracy by and for the working people against the exploiters.

In the Workers' Republic the means of life will be social property. The factories, mines, land and means of transport and communication will be the common property of the working people, controlled democratically. All Imperialist economic holdings will be expropriated. Large-scale industry will be nationalised, as will the banks and insurance companies. (Nationalisation being understood as the transference of ownership to the Workers' state under the direct socialist management of the working class. The existing state-capitalist enterprises will also be transformed into social property by the workers' state.) Large estates and capitalist agricultural undertakings will be nationalised. There will be state monopoly of the wholesale trade, nationalisation for the use of the people of the large houses in town and country. Small property, urban and rural, will not be expropriated, and non-exploiters will not be coerced. Only when the small farmers can see the advantages of amalgamations and large-scale agriculture and themselves desire this will there be any question of reorganisation here. Until that time, planning by the workers' state will at least free the small farmer from the disastrous effects of the present anarchic capitalist system.

On a local level workers' management will be the rule; on a national level, economic functions will be centralised in the hands of the democratically controlled Workers' state: the central and local will interact and mutually adjust to the other. For the first time a national economy planned in the interests of the self-controlling working masses will be possible.

FROM: "TOWARDS AN IRISH OCTOBER",
I.W.G., 1967.