

NO.4

OCT. 1969

1/-

# YOUNG WORKER

PUBLISHED BY A  
YOUNG COMMUNIST GROUP  
IN CORK

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL.....1.  
THE LEFT IN CORK.....3.  
THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.....7.  
IRISH"REVOLUTIONARY" YOUTH.....13.  
THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE.....15.  
IRISH AGRICULTURE.....20.

# EDITORIAL

The crisis in the Six Counties has helped to put the Irish nation into its real perspective. It is now quite clear that this nation is not, and never has been, independent, despite all the propaganda done to the contrary by the Free State politicians. The crisis is forcing the Irish people to look again at their history and to find out why this is so.

By the end of the last century the most industrially developed part of Ireland was the North-East and it had become completely dependent on the market of the British Empire for its manufactures. Hence the industrialists of this area wanted continued union with Britain and "played the Orange card" to maintain it. The rest of Ireland was very undeveloped industrially and in order for it to develop a break with the British <sup>EMPIRE</sup> and the British market was necessary. Hence a nationalist movement arose.

But despite the war of independence against the British Empire; despite the civil war which followed, and despite the economic war of the 1930's, the cause of national independence has not been advanced one iota.

Why is this so?

Some would have us believe it was Collins' or Dev's personal fault, but there are more powerful factors involved than the wishes or desires of any particular individuals.

The national struggle was defeated time after time because those who led it wanted to establish an independent Ireland on a capitalist basis. And this was impossible.

Why?

Connolly had explained back in the 1890's in "Erin's Hope" that even by that time in history the existing capitalist countries (England, France, Germany, the U.S.A., etc.) had control of all the world's markets and that it was therefore impossible for a country like Ireland to achieve independence in the face of this on a capitalist basis.

Despite all its efforts, Irish capitalism, whether represented by the Home Rulers, Sinn Fein, or Fianna Fail, would be forced to make a deal with imperialism.

The last deal that Irish capitalism made with imperialism was when Dev signed the 1938 agreement ending the economic war with Britain and when Lemass opened up the economy completely to imperialist control towards the end of the 1950's, culminating in the Free Trade Agreement of 1966.

This meant that by then the 26 Counties had, economically speaking, come to the

same position with regard to imperialism as the Unionists in the North-East had reached during the 19th century.

The politics of this had to be brought into line. This process began in earnest with the Lemass-O'Neill meetings in 1965. But the forces of reaction which the Unionists had used to counter the nationalists are resisting "democratisation" and imperialism has had to intervene militarily.

Even though Lynch and Co. have had to make a few noises this solution has been accepted by them and they have proposed a federation to help solve the problem. The Republican movement claims that Fianna Fail has adopted its policy as regards the 6 Counties. This proves two things. First, the bankruptcy of the Republican movement: the Republican movement has functioned for the best part of 50 years as nothing more than the extremist wing of the Free State political set-up. This should now be clear to everyone. Second, the border is not, and never has been, the main issue in Irish politics. The main issue is the relationship of the Irish nation as a whole to imperialism. As long as capitalism is in control in Ireland it will always be a question of what kind of political oppression is necessary in order to exploit the country at any particular time: a 26-County neo-colonial Free State and a 6-County colonial state is the present method of imperialist rule. The Republicans in recent years have ceased to regard the Free State as a puppet state though this was the early republican attitude to it.

The movement that will free Ireland is a movement which will break all connection with capitalism and not merely establish a 32-County neo-colonial Free State. But the latter is the only result present-day Sinn Fein/I.R.A. politics could possibly have. This should be very clearly understood. As Connolly pointed out the national movement, to be successful, must be led by a politically conscious working class movement.

If the Irish working class is to expand its influence in Irish society, and thereby create the conditions necessary for its own emancipation, a genuine workers' party must be built. Likewise, if the struggle for national freedom is to be fought to a successful conclusion a workers' party is needed to give effective leadership.

The creation of a political party of the working class is the number one priority in Ireland today. Recognising this the "Young Worker" supports the efforts of the Irish Communist Organisation to build such a party.

# the left in cork

AN ANALYSIS: PART TWO

This article which deals with Connolly's activities in Cork has not attempted to deal with Connolly's politics to any extent. For this we would refer readers to his own works and the literature available from Connolly Books.

Connolly was born in Edinburg in 1868. At the age of 14 he was forced by the threat of starvation to join the Kings Liverpool Regiment which was posted to Cork in July 1882 and stationed at Haulbowline. The regiment remained there until September 1884 and was then transferred to the Curragh where it remained until it left Ireland in February 1889. This was his first introduction to Ireland of course, and being a British soldier he made no impact politically.

Returning to Dublin in 1895 he founded the first independent Irish working class party in 1896 and the first Republican party, the Irish Socialist Republican party. In the work connected with its founding, and in "Erin's Hope", Connolly outlined very clearly his interpretation of the National question.

It was as a result of this that he first found support in Cork. His leading supporter at this time in Cork was Con O'Lehane who founded the "Wolfe Tone Literary Society" to propogate the real aims of the United Irishmen for the centenary of 1798. He and his supporters also celebrated Queen Victoria's jubilee by attacking the fire station and tearing down the Union Jack. A black flag, symbol of the misery and oppression of the people during Victoria's reign was hoisted in its place.

O'Lehane first met Connolly on August 14th 1898 after a meeting which launched the "Workers' Republic". It was probably at his suggestion that Connolly held his first meeting in Cork on February 14th 1899. The meeting was held...

"...at 21, Grattan Street, with Mr. J. Jones in the chair, what the 'Cork Constitution' (Cork Examiner) described as a 'fairly large' audience gathered to hear him. His subject was 'Labour and the Irish Revolution'. Connolly declared that the class which ground the workers down economically would never lead them to national victory. "We should have done with this middle class patriotism and middle class compromise". It remained for the Irish workers "to give patriotism a pure and nobler significance, and by organising, to shatter forever the system which condemned the people to misery." (The Life and Times of James Connolly by C.D. Greaves, London 1961.)

A branch of the Irish Socialist Republican Party was established in Cork at this time with O'Lehane as secretary and headquarters at No. 2 Camden Quay.

A few years later Connolly went to the U.S. and stayed there for 7 years until 1910.

O'Lehane organised his fellow workers into the Cork Drapers Assistants Association, of which he was secretary. This later became the Irish Drapers Assistants Association and then merged to form the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks.

He and the other members of the Irish Socialist Republican Party organised the workers of the Cork Gas Company and as a result O'Lehane was forced to emigrate, not being able to find work.

He went first to England and later to the U.S. where as a result of his work in Boston with the Irish Socialist Republican Federation, founded by Connolly, he was jailed for 9 months with no charge being brought against him. This happened in 1919 when the U.S. government made an attempt to smash the organised working class movement. As a result of his jail conditions O'Lehane developed double pneumonia and died two weeks after release.

T.A. Jackson, author of "Ireland her Own" has dedicated this history of Ireland to his memory.

Connolly returned to Ireland in 1910, and though the I.S.R.P. no longer existed there was a very active group of socialists in Cork. He visited them shortly after returning, in August 1910.

"The most outstanding was John Dowling of Cobh, but the central figure, corresponding to Danny McDevvit in Belfast, was William O'Shea. He had been president of the Young Ireland Society which gave support to Con O'Lehane in the gasworker's strike of 1901. A publican with a house in Buckingham street, on the quays, he provided a rendezvous for both local and visiting socialists, many of them seamen. The first public meeting on August 20th drew 600 people. The second drew "two thousand earnest, eager working men and women. There was not a hostile note. George Parker, a tailor, was chairman. The meetings proceeded each night and afterwards members and those interested repaired to O'Shea's bar, where Connolly sipped lemonade and answered further questions. At Foresters' hall there was founded a branch of 24 members, among them Hearsey (an Englishman employed by Clyde Shipping), Michael O'Callaghan, Gerald O'Riordan, a carter, and Daniel Coveney of Carrigtuoill. A chirpy young Dublinman, William Travers, had constantly interrupted Connolly, twitted him on his "Napoleonic Pose" and made himself a regular pest. Connolly met him accidentally on Parliament Bridge. "Any more questions?" he asked. The heckler replied that he had. Accepting an invitation to O'Shea's, Travers was convinced by Connolly's arguments and joined the Socialist Party of Ireland. It was typical of Connolly that he quickly made him chairman of an open air meeting and he developed into a capable speaker." (*ibid.*).

In March 1911, after the general elections, Connolly again visited Cork.

"After the elections Connolly resumed his campaign for school-feeding. Arrangements were made for a deputation to the Home Secretary in London. To mobilise public opinion Connolly decided on a campaign in the south, where Cork Corporation granted him the use of the City Hall. His open air meetings, except at the National Monument, began to meet with strong organised opposition, and on March 7th 1911 there took place at Cobh, which Connolly described as "that nest of parasites feeding upon parasites", a fracas which might have ended like O'Brien's "Battle of Bantry" the preceding autumn.

The Cobh (then Queenstown) urban district council had granted the use of the City Hall, but withdrew it at the last minute. Connolly therefore decided on an open air meeting. Healy, a small master painter with an interest in a local laundry where girls earned 2s.6d. per week, appeared on the scene with his "voting tackle". It was this councillor who had secured the cancellation of the town hall meeting. Connolly's address was listened to in silence. Then Healy asked him: "Did you write in a Book that the Jesuits killed Popes?" To the sound of resentful murmurs Connolly declared: "This is an appeal to prejudice, but I will not be intimidated. My answer is that Father Kane the Jesuit denounced us in his Lenten lectures and I wrote a reply showing that the mud that he had thrown at us could be more fitly thrown at him and his Order. The Jesuits and Dominicans had been expelled from many countries for political intrigue."

"What about free love?" squealed a woman's voice. "Up de Mollies!" came the answering shout from the croud, "Three cheers for Donellan! Rush 'em! D'Mollies!" The mob charged, smashing the soap box Connolly had been standing on. He and Jack Dowling fought them off as best they could until the police arrived and told them to "get back to Cork as fast as they could". They escorted them to the bar of the Rob Roy Hotel where they took refuge till merciful rain dispersed the mob. Under police protection they were escorted to the station.

Connolly's last words from the platform had been: "We'll be here again on Thursday." The police were very anxious to dissuade him. The following day every member of the S.P.I. was visited by detectives unknown to the others and advised not to go to Cobh. Not one took the advice given.

Travers took the chair on Thursday and appealed for a fair hearing, mentioning that the Young Irelanders had been chased out of Limerick. Dowling was there again, and Hartland, a worker in the naval dockyard at Hawlbowlne, showed rare courage in attending. On the other side there were now three local councillors, soon to be joined by their chairman, Mr. Hennessy. Beside the contestants stood District Inspector Topping's posse of fifty R.I.C. men. This time the mob was armed with chairlegs, ashplants, stakes and pokers. There was no offer of a hearing. Through the constant banging of tins and upturned buckets by crowds of small children came cries of "atheists" and "souters". Dowling gave up after a while. Hartland did his best. Connolly was speaking when the chairman of the council intervened. The policemen clicked heels and saluted. "Are you against religion?" asked Hennessy. "We are not," Connolly replied.

The crowd grew quiet with menace as Hennessy stepped forward. "Keep back boys," he called several times, interrupting himself 'sotto voce' over his shoulder with "Be at 'em! Be at 'em!" He waddled over to Connolly and told him: "Look here, my good man, the decent people of this town want neither ye nor yer doctrine, and

let ye take yerselves and yer followers out or I'll not answer for what may happen ye!" Connolly grew angry and declined to move. He remarked audibly on the resemblance the chief citizen bore to a codfish standing on its tail with its mouth open. A policeman plucked him by the sleeve: "Now, Mr. Connolly, will yeh please go along with Mr. Hennessy." Connolly roughly shook off the policeman's hand: "I'd die a thousand deaths before I'd go anywhere with a scoundrel like that." Hennessy elbowed his way through the crowd and Healy returned to the attack. A few more words were exchanged before the crowd charged. The socialists left their box where it was and beat a hasty retreat through a shower of stones, sticks and other missiles.

"This way" shouted Connolly as he led them through an archway to where a solitary sidecar stood. He leaped up beside the driver and with a gruff "You'll be paid," seized the reins. The others clambered aboard as the carriage gathered speed, and they galloped away, with the Hibernians screaming behind them. They did not stop till they reached Rushbrooke station, four miles away.

No more meetings were attempted in Cobh." (*ibid.* ).

Connolly's next visit to Cork was in connection with the T.U.C. which met there from May 12th to 14th 1913. He represented the Belfast Transport Workers at it. It was at this meeting that the Labour Party was made a reality.

"The T.U.C. had aroused some alarm among Cork Nationalists. The U.I.L. Examiner had conducted a campaign under such slogans as "Keep Larkin out" and "refuse hospitality". But 1913 was not 1908 in the south either. The employers' conspiracy, which had broken the Cork branch and left its handful of members to pay their dues in secret, was powerless now that Dublin had become a Labour stronghold and the centre of a united T.U.C. The Independent Labour Party of Ireland held a meeting in Daunt Square at which Dowling presided and Tom Johnson and Lynch (of Cobh) spoke. Now it was Cork which rang with "Freedom's pioneers". Alex Turner, Connolly and finally Larkin took the rostrum. On the following Tuesday an I.T.G.W.U. meeting was held with the same speakers. Next morning Ellen Gordon and Connolly addressed the millworkers at Blackpool and organised a new branch of the Textile Workers Union. In the evening they went to Cobh, where the meeting held under the I.L.P.(I) auspices was addressed by Connolly, Larkin, O'Brien, Dowling and Ellen Gordon. The police had taken elaborate precautions. But no trouble came. The crowd was friendly, at times even enthusiastic, and made ample amends for their behaviour two years previously." (Greaves.)

Connolly's last recorded visit to Cork was in 1915 when he visited the I.T.G.W.U. Branch there.

"According to Tadhg Barry, when Connolly visited Cork he booked the Sinn Fein hall for the I.L.P.(I.) meeting, but on arrival found it locked and nobody to be seen. Barry apologised profusely on his colleagues behalf, but Connolly answered quietly, "I'm used to that." (*ibid.* )



# the republican movement

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

PART FOUR

As we have shown, the Irish nationalist middle class made a brief attempt to develop an independent industrial capitalism from 1932-'38. The failure of this attempt to even produce a capitalism which could exist in the 26 Counties, became woefully apparent from there on. The dominant sections of this class came finally to acknowledge this after the economic crisis and ensuing political crisis of 1957, and took the logical alternative course. They went cap in hand to international monopoly capitalism and agreed to become junior partners in the imperialist exploitation of the 26 County working class. The course of developments since then are well known (Free Trade Agreement, Common Market bid, etc.) This fundamental change of policy on the part of a large section of the 'nationalist' middle class in the 26 Counties and the economic developments which have flowed from it, underlies the political developments in Ireland in both the 26 and 6 Counties in the last few years.

This open-door imperialist lackey policy has created opposition among sections of the national bourgeoisie who stand to lose by these developments. The remarkable 're-invigoration' of the Republican Movement, in recent years stems to a large degree from this inter-bourgeois class conflict. Because the bourgeoisie are the dominant class economically and politically in Ireland this conflict appears to be the main contradiction in Irish politics. One of the tasks of this article is to demonstrate the non-fundamental nature of this conflict.

## DECLINE AND RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

The failure of the 1956 Campaign had its depressive effect on Republican politics which quickly went into decline. Sinn Fein lost the brief spate of electoral popularity which it got through exploiting the immediate popular reaction to I.R.A. activity.

Emigration shifted the centre of Irish revolutionary politics to London, as a lot of former Republicans became active in the communist movement and affected by the international class conflict. Revisionism had long been dominant in the British communist movement and had extended its scope to Irish emigrant politics through the Connolly Association. The absence of any clear alternative to the opportunist dealings and political bankruptsy of the Connolly Association drove many ex-Republicans to flirtation with Trotskyism, the pseudo-revolutionary 'left' deviation from Marxism. A substantial communist group (Irish Communist Group) did emerge later (1963), but it suffered from the limitations of the past history of Irish exile politics which came to a head as a split into communist/trotskyist factions.

It is the Connolly Association side of Irish exile working class politics (the most corrupt and opportunist side) which was destined to most influence the Republican Movement. The renegacy from Marxism of the leadership of this organisation, mainly C.D.Greaves, is fully explained in the pamphlet "The Connolly Association" published by the I.C.O.

Affected by this tendency and assisting it were two bourgeois intellectuals Dr. Roy Johnson and Mr. Anthony Coughlan. The opportunity, the objective conditions, which allowed this clique to influence Republican politics as much as they have done, was chiefly, the bankruptcy of the Republican Movement at this time to meet the needs of the national bourgeoisie who wished to oppose the politics of complete capitulation to imperialism, <sup>if</sup> they had an alternative to offer.

They defend their opportunism to communists, on the basis that Ireland was not ready for honest open communist activity so they work within a non-communist organisation to extend 'communist' influence. Superficially, they appear to have been proven right in that the Republican Movement is doing a lot of talk about socialism and Connolly, when before they had no semblance of a social policy. In reality this theory of fooling classes in the class struggle serves only the bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie have an organisation geared to the needs of to-day as a result of their infiltration and activity. Were it depending on these people independent working class activity would be nil to-day. But it isn't anymore and it is only open communist activity which has ensured that.

Their strategy as it has now unfolded, was to effect a take-over of the political wing of the Republican Movement (i.e. Sinn Fein) and through it, control the I.R.A. From 1964 onwards they worked to achieve their aims with the assistance of the petty bourgeois leadership (they usually provide the political leadership for the national bourgeoisie) of the Republican Movement especially Cathal Goulding.

The opposition to these manoeuvres came, not, as should be expected if it were a communist bid, from the bourgeoisie, but from the rank and file Republicans sufficiently conscious to realise what was going on. Those coming out of jails with bitter experience of years in confinement for ideals the organisation had betrayed again and again, were in revolt against both the bankrupt policies of the Republican Movement and the non-revolutionary activities of the new-comers. Expulsions and splinter groups on a large scale show the intensity of the opposition. If the revolutionary opposition were as politically aware as they were intense, they might have made a bigger impact but the up shot of the whole struggle was victory for the "Johnsonites" who had something "positive" to offer as an alternative programme to the Republican Movement.

Organisations, which are actively pursuing a class policy, are not easily taken over. The Republican Movement was "taken-over" only in the sense that it absorbed into its leadership a new stratum who proceeded to revamp it with a social policy, an intellectual wing and a coherent political role in Irish politics.

Essentially what happened was that the bourgeoisie had come to realise that revisionist 'communists' and social democrats were very useful as bourgeois political leaders in 20th century western Europe.

The "take-over" was fully accomplished by 1965 and its effects began immediately to be felt. A new element forced itself onto the notice of the public. The

9

Republican Movement was now talking about socialism, Connolly's name was a must in any speech. This has continued unabated to the point of McGiolla Addressing Sinn Fein declaring for a 'democratic socialist Republic' at the last Ard-Fheis.

Before we look at the present politics and socialism of the Republican Movement it is worthwhile to demonstrate the official reaction of the Republican Movement to a probe from the bourgeoisie as to their new colours. Lenihan, Free State Minister for Justice in 1966, suggested that the communists had taken over the Republican Movement. McGiolla replied in a long interview in the United Irishman from which we take these choice pieces:

"Well as regards accusations of communism or any communist leanings these have been levelled at the movement at various stages in the past, in fact, not only in this century but in the last century also and it is an easy tag to pin on any revolutionary movement". (United Irishman Jan. 1966) (our emphasis).

When asked whether policies had any continuity with those advocated by the revolutionary Republican Congress of the 30's McGiolla replied:

"I would'nt agree at all that our policy to-day has been taken from the policy of the Congress Party of the 30's...In the 30's the Congress Party became identified with communist movements abroad but no one can say to-day that we in Sinn Fein are identified with communist parties at home or abroad". (ibid). (First part true, second part also true in substance.)

These are very clear anti-communist statements by the 'socialist' Republican Movement pressure which is what counts politically not the private assurances of pro-communist sympathies.

### THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The national struggle under the leadership of the national middle class has been betrayed and compromised on three major occasions and at three crucial points in the last 50 years.

(a) The Treaty; when a large section of this class led by Collins and Griffith compromised and betrayed the Republic.

(b) 1926; when a further section led by De Valera and Lemass capitulated and,

(c) 1934; led by McBride and Twoomey; this lot showed all the weakness of what it was, the remnant of a generation of national bourgeoisie.

Has this class completely washed its hands of the national struggle, then? No. As long as imperialism exploits and oppresses the nation sections of this class will struggle against it. The re-invigoration of the Republican Movement since 1965 is the political impression of this fact. The temporary political form this re-invigoration is taking, is due to other factors present in Irish politics especially revisionist 'communism'. What we are concerned with is judging the nature of the involvement and contribution this class will make to the national struggle especially under its present leadership.

This has become a very relevant question because of the political crises in the 6 Cos. Rather than confine ourselves to a purely theoretical exposure of the limitation of this class we can illustrate their nature from an analysis of the role of their political representatives.

Armed action by the I.R.A. (such as it was) in the '56 Campaign met fierce united opposition from the Unionists, imperialists and 26 County "nationalist" government. Yet we are now told by the Republican Movement (United Irishman August 1969) that this class unity has been shattered by the Civil Rights Movement, a movement that disowns violence and which drew its main activists from Queens University. This is the logic of attaching any more importance to the affect of C.R. campaign than that which it actually had viz., as a catalyst to a maturing political conflict in the Unionist camp, which is being utilized by the imperialist and intelligent Unionists to change the form of rule in the 6 Cos. from fascist dictatorship to bourgeois 'democratic' dictatorship.

The qualitative difference which utterly changes the nature of the present crisis from that in '56 is the role and needs of imperialism. The reality here is that imperialism has as its long term strategy the aim of uniting Ireland once again in its interests, just as it fostered its break-up in 1920. Its short term strategy is a rationalisation of the form of rule in the 6 Cos. which necessitates drawing the northern section of the nationalist middle class into a coalition with the Unionist bourgeoisie. The 26 County lackey government is ready to play its part and so are its brothers in the 6 Cos. The problem is can they retain control ideologically of their respective sections of the Irish working class ?

The national struggle is well in the forefront here then while the "nationalist" middle class are manoeuvring for a compromise with imperialism. The role which the Republican Movement can play in a period of crisis when it is necessary for the nationalist middle class to be radical and democratic is crucial to their interests. The Nationalist Party has been rejected by the working class so the class would be left on its own with no influence in the struggle were it not for the existence of its "radical" wing. There is no question of its leading an onslaught on imperialism, it is merely phrasemongering and appearing to lead while behind the scenes it is manoeuvring. The imperialists know this and are acting accordingly. It isn't for nothing that the Sunday Times and Cameron Report are at pains to portray the I.R.A. as responsible and non-'extremist'. Rank and file Republicans in Belfast and Derry also know this. So it is time to burst the bubble on the working class side.

The attitude the Republican Movement has adopted to the manoeuvres of the Free State (chiefly to bolster its 'nationalist' image) shows clearly that one is little different in essence from the other. Their demands are the same (and words are cheap).

The failure of the Republican Movement to expose the reactionary imperialist nature of the Free State government at the time when the eyes of the nation were being dulled by a barrage of bravado and diplomatic fog signifies a complete sell-out by the leadership of this movement of its members. No amount of nationalisations after will take from this fact. By exhorting the Free State government to act against the northern bourgeoisie they obscured the true facts of what was happening and reneged any claims it might have had to leadership of the national struggle. So while the objective conditions exist why sections of the nationalist middle class should oppose imperialism, in fact its political leadership is reformist and collaborationist.

Is the "movement" then to lead a national struggle of all the anti-imperialist classes in Ireland. Because it represents the nationalist middle class it can

only define itself in their terms and can make no approach to a large section of the Irish working class i.e. those under the ideological control of the Orange bourgeoisie at the moment. Therefore before it begins the national anti-imperialist struggle is weakened. Furthermore, are the working class of the south and even the nationalist controlled working class in the north going to flock to its banners? No, we think not, the experience of past struggles, the betrayals the compromises are woven into the fabric of the thinking of the Irish working class to form a solid distrust of any promises or bravado made by this organisation. These are the realities of Irish politics which working class members of the Republican Movement would do well to ponder when considering the national question.

### STATE POWER

The seizure of state power is the major question in any revolution. Whatever else could have been said about the Republican Movement up to the Johnson 'coup', it could not be said that they had an incorrect theoretical understanding of the nature of the Free State and the 6 Cos. State (though in practise the leadership forsook this clarity) at crucial points.

From a genuine national bourgeois position they saw that imperialism had divided Ireland and ruled both parts through the agency of puppet governments drawn from the internal ruling bourgeoisie. As regards the 26 counties, ultimate state power was in the hands of imperialism.

The weakness of their analysis was that it was not a fully scientific one based on the real class reasons as to why imperialism had to rule Ireland as a divided country. The reason they could not base their strategy on such an analysis, was precisely their class nature i.e. nationalist middle class. Their own ideology obscured their thinking. Locked in a struggle with the big Unionist bourgeoisie as the nationalist middle class have been since the end of the 19th century, any organisation they produce must define itself in national bourgeois terms. Only the working class could scientifically lay bare the real course of Irish history as regards this struggle (because it is in its interests to do so) once it began to shake itself loose from the ideological stranglehold of the bourgeoisie. This has now come about and the I.C.O.'s "Economics of Partition" marks a turning point in the whole anti-imperialist struggle.

But with its limitations understood the Republican Movement's analysis up to now was based on a revolutionary outlook. The influence of the revisionist "communists" through Sinn Fein has had the effect of re-orientating the Republican Movement from a revolutionary bourgeois nationalist position, on this question, to a reformist bourgeois nationalist position. Part of this process has been the blurring of their former clear understanding of the nature of the state which left the way open for them to renege in practise in the present crisis from exposing the Free State.

To show what we mean by this blurring let us look at a 'gem' that found its way into the analysis done by Wolfe Tone Society (one of Johnson's creations to infiltrate bourgeois intellectuals from T.C.D. and the Labour and Irish Workers Party types into contact with Republicans to further social-democratic and revisionist ideas for the Republican Movement in 1967.

"Ireland, which is politically divided, only half independent, and whose govern-

ments over almost half a century have been too weak or too conservative to use to the full such powers as they got." (p.11)

Here we have the poisonous influence of a theory which in Ireland owes its deviations from the politics of Michael Collins. It is the concept that the state organs of the imperialists (or of any class) can be used against them if a progressive government gain control of it. Collins kept talking of using the Free State as a stepping-stone to full national freedom while he prepared to smash the revolutionary state organs of the Republicans in 1922. The state as Lenin explained in "State and Revolution" is not a mystical inherent part of society but the product of a class divided society appearing to stand above classes but in practice is the machine for coercing the ruled classes. The modern state has grown immensely but the essence is the same and the chief organs of state i.e. the army and bureaucracy remains. The seizure of power by another class involves the smashing of the old machine and the creating of a new state-machine to coerce the former oppressing class while they still attempt a come-back. To destroy the national revolution and the Republic of 1919 Collins had to smash the Republican Army and court system (the bureaucracy had not been touched by the Republicans). Here again we have the intellectuals of Sinn Fein begging the question that all that is required in Ireland is a progressive government (elected of course!) to use this "independent" 26 county state machine to oppose imperialism!

C.D. Greaves of the Connolly Association is the theoretical father of this and numerous other 'new' ideas in the Republican Movement (we'll look at some others in the concluding part). In a pamphlet written in the training period of Johnson and Coughlan (1963) this beauty was first circulated, (called: "The Irish Question and the British People; A plea for a new approach (i.e. different to the old Republican approach) ).

This is the theoretical base underlying the numerous articles in the United Irishman (and of course Irish Socialist) giving advice to, remonstrating with and generally interceding with the Fianna Fail government to act contrary to its nature. It underlies the present brazen support for Lynch's manoeuvres in the U.N. etc.

Next issue we will conclude with a look at the socialism of Sinn Fein and the alternative of communism.

IRISH

"REVOLUTIONARY"

YOUTH

Since the last issue of Young Worker a 'new' revolutionary youth movement has appeared on the scene, called Irish Revolutionary Youth.

In the first issue of its official organ 'Red Patriot' it claims to be "part of the development of a new form of political struggle herein Ireland which has been developing for the last few years and which has been led by the Internationalists".

In the editorial of this magazine it:

"Openly acknowledge(s) that the Internationalists Marxist-Leninist youth and student movement has and is providing us with clear and scientific guidance in our work."

In a resolution of the I.R.Y. also published in this magazine it is stated that

"That in order to develop the correct method of organising all genuine revolutionaries and revolutionary movements must struggle for their ideas in public and fearlessly test them in practice. They must appose all liberal-bourgeois trends, such as refusing to initiate public ideological struggle."

If the I.R.Y. carries this out it will soon find itself in contradiction with the "new form of political struggle here in Ireland...which has been led by the Internationalists."

The Internationalists' fundamental 'theories' have been criticised by the I.C.O. for over two years and these criticisms have been published in the Irish Communist since last September. The Internationalists have not answered these, which proved that their slogans about 'investigating' and 'analysing' is mere phrasemongering.

One of the distinctive features of the Internationalists is a very subjective approach to politics, and this brings them to describe almost every form of capitalist oppression as fascism. This dogmatic approach of course, hinders concrete analysis of situations and this occurs in 'Red Patriot' where the crisis in the 6 Cos. is analysed. It come to the conclusion that:

"Monopoly capital has decided that the only solution to the problem lies in the formation of a fascist police state."

In fact the very opposite is true. A fascist police state has served its purpose for monopoly capitalism (imperialism) in the 6 Cos. and it is now in their interests to 'democratise' this state to the level of an ordinary bourgeois democracy. Monopoly capitalism will not of course get rid of all the elements of a fascist police state in the 6 Cos. but it will adapt itself to different situations when

necessary. The fascist state was necessary as long as there was a threat from the Irish national bourgeoisie, but that has now disappeared completely, and the fascist methods will not be necessary until there will be a similar threat in the future which of course, can only come with the development of the Irish working class movement and its taking up the leadership of the national struggle.

Monopoly capitalism is at least 'scientific' enough to realise things like this but so called Marxist-Leninists are not.

There can be no doubt but that I.R.Y. will attract genuine young people to it but they cannot develop very far when opportunists like the Internationalists are the leaders of it and cannot give them genuine analysis on such an important issue as the crisis for imperialism in the 6 Cos. today.

---

PUBLIC MEETING

"A CRISIS IN THE SIX COUNTIES:  
A COMMUNIST ANALYSIS"

SATURDAY 18TH OCTOBER,

8.0 P.M. 62, COLLEGE ROAD, CORK.



# THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

## 'Illness is a Profitable Business'

In the first part of this article (Young Worker No.3) it was shown how capitalism has no real concern for the health of the people who work to make its own profits, the working class. In actual fact illness itself has become a highly profitable business, as figures of the annual profits of the various drug companies illustrate. During the last 10 years these profits have greatly increased as the medical professions dependence on the use of drugs, to cure all ills, has increasingly grown. The discovery of drugs like penicillin has provided incalculable benefits to mankind, but their use has got out of hand, and although many are still therapeutically useful, they are also doing a great deal of harm.

Who are the pharmaceutical companies who reap such huge profits? It is interesting to note that the drug industry in Britain is British in name only, as British firms hold less than a third of the home market. Brian Inglis in his book "Drugs, Doctors and Diseases" published in 1965, describes how in the past 20 years, American companies have gradually taken over the market. Names like Parke Davis and Pfizer may sound very familiar. These are American firms and although Swiss companies like Roche or German ones like Grunenthal (the latter being the manufacturers of thalidomide, who also sell their products to certain Dublin hospitals) have managed to capture a section of the market, American companies predominate. These pharmaceutical companies who came to Britain from the U.S. around the time of the birth of the N.H.S., did not arrive to offer their superior knowledge without an ulterior motive. Their intention was obviously that they saw the possibility, with the introduction of the state health scheme, of a highly profitable market for their products.

Since the war the profits of the drug companies have been able to increase without bounds, and in fact they are higher than any other manufacturing industry. Money spent on research is not to find new drugs which will cure disorders, but ones which will relieve symptoms, so that when the latter inevitably reoccur, there will still be a profitable market for the drug or a variation of it. For example the industry has lavished funds for research on diabetes, but how much research is done into the causes of diabetes? Rather, attempts are made to discover drugs which will control the symptoms while still keeping the disease alive. There are new anti-diabetic drugs coming on the market all the time, and the person who has to have a daily injection of insulin is a source of profit to the pharmaceutical firms who manufacture it. Neither is money spent on investigation to ensure that a given drug is safe. The harmful effects of thalidomide, a sedative, on unborn babies whose mothers took the drug, is a classical example of such negligence. The scandal which this caused shocked millions, governments and medical people all over the world cried out in horror. But what has happened since? Admittedly thalidomide was taken off the market but the company who

manufactured it are still making profits from their other products and it is questionable if they are any more safe. So, without restraint, the pharmaceutical firms flood the market with their drugs introducing new ones almost every day. Their one and only aim is profit, and they have discovered the most effective way of producing these. I quote John Conner, president of an American drug company and who incidently was President Johnston's Secretary of Commerce.

"As in other industries our driving force is profits. But unlike other industries the single most effective way of earning those profits is to make existing products obsolete, including our own."

In a capitalist society there is relatively little curb on the pharmaceutical companies, and unrestricted they make their onslaught on the medical profession with the help of direct advertising. Almost every day a G.P. in Britain finds in his letterbox literature and samples promoting new drugs. For the drug firms this method of advertising is expensive but worthwhile, for the doctor like the housewife is wooed by the promises made in the brochure concerning the wonderful qualities of such and such a drug, as was confirmed by an investigation carried out in 1962 by Research Services Ltd., for the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry.

What are the consequences of this situation? First of all, as has been pointed out previously but must again be emphasized, the drug companies have made of illness a highly profitable business. Figures showing the rates of return after taxes in selected industries, reveal drugs as the highest with 21.4%, while steel, for example, has 12.4%, tobacco 12.6% and industrial chemicals 16.2%. The drug companies persuade the medical profession of the usefulness of their product and as a result many drugs which might have harmful effects or side-effects are administered to the public. Even those products which have proved effective in fighting certain bacteria and viruses, for example antibiotics, are so indiscriminately prescribed as to render them possibly useless in some cases nowadays, since the organisms become resistant to them.

What is the relationship between the N.H.S. and the drug companies? A great deal of money which the government spends on the N.H.S. goes into the pockets of the pharmaceutical industry. From the estimates of 1963/64, £122.3 million was paid, in comparison with 1949/50 where the figure was £19.9 million. When the national health service was begun, 3.4% of the gross national product was spent on health. Today the service costs the government double the amount, but the percentage of the national product remains the same. Therefore relatively more money is spent on drugs; also drugs are more expensive to buy. To further show the relationship between the government and the masters whom it serves, (in this case the bourgeois pharmaceutical manufacturers), the following is a statement by Enoch Powell when minister of health:

"...here then, I believe (is) the ground for mutual understanding and respect between industry and government; a candid recognition that this ought to be as near as we can make it a straight forward customer supplier relationship, the one seeking a good bargain in its vast expenditure, the other side looking to earn a profit in fair competition and believing that the public good is served by their respective efforts."

In reply Dr. Dennis Wheeler, president of the British Pharmaceutical Industries said:

"This we accept."

'How the service works as in the hospitals'

For the drug manufacturer the health of the nation is a highly profitable business, for the capitalist employer the health of his workers is ultimately only a means of helping himself; how then is it regarded by those for whom it is a means of livelihood? Something has already been said of the attitude of the G.P. to his job but perhaps a better idea of the nature of the N.H.S. and the relationship between those who are employed to work under it and the people whom they serve will be obtained by a closer look at the hospital service.

The staffing structure of a hospital is like the relationships in a capitalist society with a privileged minority group at the top, the consultants and matrons, and beneath, exploited to varying degrees, the junior doctors and nurses, not to forget the auxiliary staff, the technicians, porters and the cleaners. The consultants in any hospital have a certain number of beds allocated to them, and they have also under their care a number of private patients who personally pay the former's fee. Generally speaking their service to the hospital is on a part-time basis, as it is much more profitable for them, although well paid by the state for their time, to look after their private practices. For example in Britain in 1962 the number of whole time consultants was 2009, while the number of those employed part time was 5,050. Most consultants attached to London hospitals have practised in Harley St. and in Dublin the location is Fitzwilliam Square. It is not difficult then to see where the consultants' interest lies, and the way in which he discriminates between those patients who can afford to hand him a handsome fee from their own pocket, and others on whose behalf he is paid by the state, further confirms the nature of his attitude to his work. A patient is generally seen by the consultant each day, and the amount of time afforded him and the subsequent medical treatment he receives depends on whether he is a public or a private patient. For example if a sample of blood is required from a private patient, the houseman will do it (which a student does for a N.H.S. patient) or if he has to have stitches removed the surgeon will undertake the task. (This is a nursing job for the N.H.S. patient)

The grievance of the junior doctors is derived from the privileged position of consultants; underpaid and overworked, their drive to attain a similar position of authority as their bosses which would give the added incentive of more money and shorter working hours, is frustrated. This has caused many to leave the country to seek their interests elsewhere. But unquestionably the most subtly and at the same time the most blatantly exploited section of the hospital staff is the nurse, especially the student nurse. Her drudgery of long hours for little pay and no responsibility, is hidden by the idea which is propagated in order to recruit more nurses, of nursing as a profession rather than the manual job which it is, a romantic way of serving mankind. In England the majority of nurses who form the basis of the national health service, are either from Ireland or commonwealth countries. The following table illustrating the average wage of an Irish student nurse in England, is one example of this exploitation.

1st. year £275  
 2nd. year £300  
 3rd. year £300  
 4th. year £400

During recent times there has been increasing awareness and disillusionment on the part of nurses concerning the job, and as a result there has been a rising shortage of nurses. This has contributed to the fact already mentioned, that the gap has been filled to a great extent by immigrant labour from commonwealth countries and Ireland.

And what of the patient who enters the hospital trusting that the whole hospital staff are working in close co-operation, each in their own sphere of knowledge, to cure his ailment. The fact is this. If the patient can himself pay for the services rendered, his stay in hospital will be more comfortable than that of anyone in the public ward along the corridor. The food may be better his room will be his alone and certainly the number of medical staff hovering around his bed will at least give the impression that all possible is being done to cure him. If a N.H.S. patient the ward he is in may be less luxurious, the service hardly like that in an expensive hotel, the consultant may just deign to glance at him on his morning round, the nurses will do their best, and if he is lucky he will leave the hospital alive, and as quickly as possible for his bed was needed for someone else.

#### CONCLUSION

The Irish health service although not as elaborate as the British N.H.S. does provide minimum facilities to the lower income group (the working-class). Under the dispensary system a family doctor service is provided at each local dispensary and the doctors are employed on a part time basis by the local health authority. The hospital service is run in a similar way with the consultants also working part time there. However no full dental, eye or ear services are given. Under this system too, certain sections of the middle income group (depending on their yearly income or rateable value of their land) are entitled to a free maternity service, and have to pay only charges for the hospital and specialist service. A recognition of the inadequacy of this system where the general practitioner relies mainly on his lucrative private practice, has motivated the Government to propose certain changes in the dispensary system, as a means of capturing the votes of the petty-bourgeois supporters.

The new suggested scheme is similar to that of the British N.H.S. in the sphere of the general practitioner service, and at the time would increase the number of those eligible for full free medical facilities or limited free medical benefits (mainly the middle-nursing group, the petty bourgeoisie). This would dispose of the dispensary system since the Government patient would attend the doctor's private surgery as does the latter's private patient. The G.P. under the new scheme would be paid a capitation fee per year according to the number of public patients on his list. Irish G.Ps., have raised objections to this scheme on the basis that they consider their private practice as a business, and from a purely economic point of view, consider it is impossible to give the same attention and courtesy to the public as to the private patient, no matter how 'charitable' he might feel. The reason for this attitude is mainly that he would be receiving only a capitation fee for the public patient, instead of payment per item of service. Consequently the majority of G.Ps. have rejected the proposal. Nevertheless there will be more haggling and

the Government will have to give some form of monetary incentive to <sup>the</sup> mass of G.Ps. to push through the new scheme with their co-operation; this was what happened in Britain in a similar situation.

In the Irish Labour Party outline of their policy, the only difference between their health programme and the present Government's is that they would like to implement a full N.H.S. as in Britain, including free medicine. Their statement looks fine on paper but certainly modifications would have to be made in practice. As shown by the policy of the British Labour Party now in power, abolishing prescription is alright as an election gimmick, but is not economically practicable from the point of view of a bourgeois government.

Thus we can say that from a working class point of view, although the health services set up by any bourgeois government does perform a specific role within a capitalistic system i.e. by providing limited medical facilities to the working class, it should not be confused with the fact that any health service in a capitalist system (even an elaborate scheme such as the British N.H.S.) does not ultimately work in the interest of the proletariat. This cannot come about without the elimination of the economic basis of capitalism together with bourgeois ideology (n.b. one only has to look at the different attitudes of the consultant or G.P towards a public and private patient). This would mean that under socialism labour becomes the predominant aspect of the contradiction between labour and capital. Therefore the problem becomes a political one, and it requires the formation of a working class political party, to guide the proletariat and its various allies in its historical task to change the balance of forces in capitalist society (and maintaining it under socialism). For it is only with the overthrow of capitalism can socialist medicine develop under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The British N.H.S. has been exhibited as an example of 'socialism' creeping in under the very 'nose' of capitalism. But this is not so, for all the N.H.S. has done is to try to limit the influence of the market, but this 'Clay Wall' is finally crumbling, as shown not only by the increase in profits made by the drug companies, but also recent by the fact that the British government has had to increase by 25% health service charges for a full set of false teeth and spectacles. (Maybe there are more surprise increases yet to come on other things).

What then is the future of the health services in Britain and Ireland. It looks as if the most economic scheme of a health service for a bourgeois government, will be a trend towards a system where by the government will pay part expenses for the patients medical needs. The extent will depend on the financial circumstances of the patient. This system seems to be gaining ground in various forms, in certain continental countries such as France and Switzerland.

---

# IRISH AGRICULTURE

## part one

There are, basically, two types of farming:

- (i) Tillage and dairying or intensive farming and,
- (ii) extensive farming i.e. cattle and sheep.

The first type has a very high rate of employemnt, has a high rate of inputs, fertilizer machinery etc., and a gross output which is several times the output of the second type.

This second type is the very opposite, low employment, low inputs and low gross output. These two types of farming are referred to in Ireland as small farming and ranching. During the nineteenth century the English market demanded the extension of ranching in Ireland because <sup>the</sup> British ruling class could afford more and more luxury products, beef and mutton as it grew more imperialist. The export of one of Irelands most important tillage crops, corn, was made an unprofitable concern from the landlords point of view when the corn laws were repealed in 1846 allowing Britain to import corn from America and Europe in the interests of Free Trade and this was the beginning of the end for the export of Irish Cereals.

All this meant that the people had to be cleared off the land by any and every means to make room for cattle and sheep. Evictions, famine, persecution, emigration and war were used to achieve this and this contradiction between the interests of a handful of landlords and the majority of the people was the basis of all the revolutionary movements in the 19th century especially the Fenian Rising. By the end of the century the people had lost this struggle and Ireland had 'settled down' to become a normal part of the United Kingdom where emigration, unemployment and depopulation of the countryside was the 'natural thing' to expect. This was also happening in England, the migration from the north to south. What was happening in Ireland was seen as nothing more than a drift of people from the west to the east of the U.K.

This 'surplus' population which migrated to the towns for employment in industry accentuated the contradiction that already existed between the capitalist and the workers which was now to be the basis of the revolutionary movement in Ireland.

The first indication of this was the 1913 strike. When in 1916, Connolly, as the leader of the working class physically and theoretically, joined forces with the I.R.B. the organisation of the Fenian uprising of the 19th. century a new life was given to the struggle in the countryside which gathered momentum during the national struggle up to 1922.

The big houses were burned down the estates and ranches were being broken up, but the bourgeois leadership of the struggle took fright at this and made a deal with imperialism (the Treaty).

The Free State, was established to halt the people's war which had begun and the ranchers were the backbone of the Free State along with the commercial class in the towns.

The Free State, however, was forced to try and make some pretence at solving the problems in the countryside. They failed miserably and De Valera was then given a chance in 1932. This also failed. The solutions offered, of course, were all solutions which capitalism had to offer and as the socialist leadership of the national struggle had been killed (Connolly) and his 'successors' had betrayed him, there was never a chance of the people in the countryside being offered anything besides an alternative which was essentially capitalist.

Before considering what a socialist solution would be it is necessary to examine in some detail the capitalist solutions which have been tried in Ireland since the setting up of the Free State.

During the 19th century and during the national revolution of 1916-1922 the 'men of no property' in the countryside had a solution and implemented it as much as possible, that was to halt and reverse the trend towards ranching and extend tillage and dairying which would give employment and would in turn create a market and a base for industrial expansion in the towns and in the countryside as well.

This would be the basis of a socialist solution to agriculture but under a capitalist system where profit is the incentive and not the interests of the people any attempt at this was bound to fail.

#### The Free State attitude to agriculture during the 20s

The Free Staters represented the commercial bourgeoisie and the ranchers. Those were the people who had backed Redmond as Home Rulers. They were the 'middlemen' between Ireland and the British Empire. Their idea of a free Ireland was a freedom for them to strike better and better bargains for Ireland with the Empire, raking in handsome profits for themselves. When they saw the national struggle developing they decided to halt it by taking over the leadership and diverting it towards a Free State which they tried to pass off as a free Ireland. Anyone who opposed it seriously was crushed mercilessly.

Attempts made to deal with agriculture consisted of setting up a Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Credit Corporation. The Dept. of Agriculture concentrated on the purely technical side of agriculture, reclamation, drainage etc. and did not influence agricultural policies. The Premium Bull scheme improved the quality of beef and depressed milk yields and this helped the ranchers. There was very little incentive to make any use of the A.C.C. Rates were reduced but this obviously helped those who were paying most rates, the ranchers and encouraged them to hold on and increase the size of their farms.

To pay for this aid to agriculture the Free State relied on indirect taxation. They had to do this because if they brought in any kind of direct taxation on capital, they would be taxing the people who were holding the power. In order to

keep capital in the country they had to keep direct taxation below that of Britain, otherwise the capital would drift out of the country. Indirect taxation hit the small farmer hardest because he uses so much commodities that can be taxed, agricultural machinery, fertilizers, food, labour and the produce he sells. He cannot raise his prices to offset this as easily as manufactures can because his prices are dictated by export prices.

A lot of this money which the Free State collected was from the small farmers and from labourers in the country was used of course to crush the republican forces.

The result of all this was continuing emigration which was higher than the birth rate, decrease in the number of farms and growing unemployment, half of which was in the countryside .

Finally, towards the end of the decade the international slump in world capitalism hit Ireland when Britain began putting restrictions on agricultural imports from Ireland. It became obvious now to the bourgeoisie, big and small, that there would have to be some more radical solutions tried in order to solve the problem of agriculture which had failed to increase in output during the twenties.

This failure to increase output was caused by the predominance of ranching. It was clear to everybody, small farmers and farm labourers specially that ranching was the cause of the continuing crisis in agriculture and that it was being maintained and extended for political reasons and by the political power the ranchers had in the Free State. Nobody could claim that it was in the economic interests of the country or that economically inevitable that ranching should be extended. The unemployment, migration to cities and emigration followed from this.

The most radical capitalist solution was the policy of protectionism which De Valera tried when he came to power in 1932. This would have been tried whether De Valera or Fianna Fail existed or not. It was easier for Fianna Fail to implement it because Cumann na nGaedheal, as a party was committed to the commercial capitalist who would be opposed to protectionism tooth and nail. It is most important however, that De Valera introduced protectionism not in the interests of the small farmers but in the interests of the manufacturing bourgeoisie.

His policies towards agriculture were dictated according to their needs and for a very short time they were to a slight degree better for the people of the countryside, than the policies of the rancher dominated Cumann na nGaedheal. It was only temporary and very soon, by 1938 in fact De Valera made his peace with British imperialism again and was in the same position as the original Free Staters.

---



LAST MONTH TWO YOUNG CORK MEN, PATRICK O'SULLIVAN AND CONOR LYNCH WERE EACH SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS IMPRISONMENT AT THE OLD BAILEY IN LONDON FOR THE ATTEMPTED ROBBERY OF A SUB-MACHINE GUN FACTORY AT DAGENHAM, ESSEX..

JUDGE NEIL MCKINNON COMMENTED THAT:

"THE SERIOUS ASPECT OF THE OFFENCE AS I SEE IT IS THAT.....THE GUNS WERE MANUFACTURED LARGELY FOR EXPORT, AND THIS COUNTRY LIVES BY ITS EXPORTS."

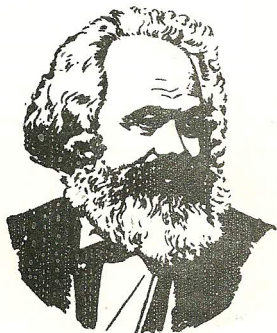
(Irish Times 26th, September, 1969.)

# CONNOLLY BOOKS

all socialist literature available including works by



connolly



marx

engels



lenin

stalin



mao tse-tung



62 COLLEGE RD., CORK.