

The great Danish dough-boy

CRANKS, 'head-cases' and odd-balls of all sorts, turn up weekly on the RTE programme 'Hall's Pictorial Weekly.' It was completely in context, therefore, that Mr. Hans Jorgensen, owner of 'The Dane's', a confectionery shop in Post Office Lane, Limerick, should have been invited to perform on one of its most recent shows. In fact, the Limerick Socialist wishes to nominate Mr. Jorgensen for Hall's 'Nut-of-Week' award, on the strength of his performance.

In the course of the TV programme, he made a number of allegations against Limerick workers: 'He could not rely on the workers; nevertheless he would continue to try and produce first-class goods. He would not produce rubbish.' To reinforce his attitude to local labour, Jorgensen's shop displays the following notice: 'As we cannot get dependable help, production will be cut down to half. Please come early ...'

What sort of a case did the 'Great Dane' furnish to support his wild allegations? Facts are not Jorgensen's strongest suit and Frank Hall's send-up did little to encourage any kind of factual investigation of the charges made. The only serious thing to emerge from the programme was, that although Jorgensen modestly proclaimed himself an expert in confectionery, his public relations act in drumming-up business for his shop was by far the greatest 'creation' he has yet confectioned.

Our investigation of Jorgensen's charges have disclosed the following facts:



(1) That only one member of his staff is a member of a trade union;

(2) That he has failed to train even one Limerick apprentice confectioner in his 31 years in Ireland;

(3) That he jealously guards the secrets of his trade behind a high partition. So concerned is Jorgensen with preserving the secrecy of his confectionery recipe that he is even prepared to close down his shop for a month during the annual holiday period, rather than allow his workers access to his trade secrets;

(4) That he brought a number of Danish confectioners to work at his shop, with the co-operation of the

trade union concerned, but because of the state of industrial relations in his firm, his compatriots did not stay long there.

Frank Prendergast, in his letter to the local press, refuted all of Jorgensen's allegations, but this is not good enough. The Limerick Socialist Organisation calls on Frank Prendergast and his union, the Irish Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers' Union to enlist the support of all Limerick workers, through the Limerick Council of Trade Unions, to achieve the following results:

(1) That all the workers employed by Jorgensen be allowed to join a trade union;

(2) That Jorgensen undertake the training of Limerick apprentices immediately;

(3) That the inaccurate and offensive notice at present on display at his shop be removed without delay;

(4) That failure on Jorgensen's part to comply with these accepted democratic and trade union demands should be followed up by trade union action, involving, if necessary, a boycott of all goods produced at 'The Dane's.'

When it comes to industrial relations many of the native-born Limerick bakery owners and confectioners have a bad record in dealing with their workers, and a few of them could even teach Jorgensen a few tricks, when it comes to making profits as well as buns.

Mr. Jorgensen has come a long way from the day when, as a pastry-cook, he left his stranded ship when it docked in this country. He learned how to make pastry and money successfully but he has yet to learn how to deal with workers, even in the straightforward, modern capitalist manner. Whatever about the state of Denmark, there is something rotten with the state of industrial relations in Post Office Lane, and the sooner it is rectified, the better.

The Limerick Socialist Organisation

THE Limerick Socialist Organisation was founded in January, 1972 by a group of politically conscious workers, who came together to work in a serious and objective manner, for Socialism. The need to build a strong working class movement in Limerick and throughout Ireland is clear. This organisation will strive to play its part in building such a movement.

The short-term aim of the organisation will be to increase the political consciousness of Limerick workers

through regular meetings and discussions and through the pages of the 'Limerick Socialist.' We have no illusions about our task. We realise that this work will be slow and difficult, but with correct and principled working methods, it can be achieved.

It is understandable that because of its historical development, the working class in Limerick is politically weak and unsure of its role in asserting its power. It is only through concentrated study and struggle that the more advanced of the workers can come to understand the historical role of the working class and give the leadership necessary for political advancement.

The long-term aim of the organisation

will be to work in co-operation with other working class organisations in playing its part to bring about a socialist society.

The working class has only two weapons in its power to abolish capitalism: theory and organisation. And the working class cannot act in such a way as to further its own class interests unless it has a clear understanding of the situation it exists in. While it reacts spontaneously or unconsciously to developments in the capitalist system, the system will remain. It is only when it acts with a clear knowledge of the system and equips itself with the correct theory and practice, that it can put an end to capitalism.

'WE WILL NOT willingly accept the dismantling of our Catholic schools and their replacement by an undenominational school system, in which we would have to guarantee that there would be a proper religious education twenty years from now. The religious and moral education to be given in community schools in which Catholic children will be present in greater numbers, the safeguarding of the faith and morals of these pupils in the entire life and work of the school, the integrating of the religious education in the totality of their intellectual development—all these aspects of the education to be given in community schools must be the concern of Catholic bishops and priests.'

Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Limerick, said this recently when he came out openly and totally against the introduction of community schools throughout the country. He went on to claim 'that separate education was best for these different beliefs.' Dr. Murphy is not a controversial figure in Irish Catholicism and is usually more noted for his cautious, middle-of-the-road statements. What made him react in this hostile and uncharacteristic manner to the concept of community school education?

The community schools idea did not drop from the sky: there are clear and cold economic reasons behind it. Dr. Murphy attempted to outline some of these reasons when he said: 'We must face up in the manner of religious education to the consequences involved in the rapidly changing environment now emerging. Whatever the causes of this change—and they are complex—the increasing secularising society, the impact of TV, the general questioning of authority, commercialised cult of youth, the tremendous technological advances—there is no guarantee that young people will continue to follow the path of their parents to Church and altar.' With this straightforward admission, the dilemma of Bishop Murphy and of the Irish Catholic Church as a whole, becomes clear.

The 'tremendous technological advances' and the changes in Irish capitalism in the last decade have had a greater effect on Catholicism than most people realise. The transition from a predominantly agricultural society to a more industrialised one has caused many problems for the Church. The 1971 Irish Catholic Directory shows an overall decline of 39% in ordinations to the priesthood since 1965. The figures for students showed an even more drastic fall of 45% from the level of 1960. That these sharply downward trends occurred at a time when secondary education, encouraged by the introduction of the free post-primary education scheme, was dramatically expanding is all the more remarkable. But the facts and figures show fewer priests being ordained, an increasingly high drop-out of seminarians and the unprecedented spectacle of some seminars being half

bishop murphy's dilemma

by jim kemmy

empty. What has happened to bring about these changes?

The social basis of Irish Catholicism the small farm owners, is declining as Dr. Jeremiah Newman and others have shown. The increasing industrialisation of the country and the growing flight from the land are rapidly eroding the Church's traditional power base. Entry to the EEC will inevitably speed-up this trend. What has all this to do with education and community schools in particular?

The Catholic Church has a near monopoly in the field of secondary education. In the school year 1966-7 there were 586 recognised secondary schools in the country and 485 of these were conducted by religious of the Catholic Church. These 485 schools had 91,909 pupils out of a total of 103,558. In the same year the number of secondary teachers receiving state salaries, including probationers, was 4,891, and of these 2,728 were lay teachers; there were in addition, 1,986 unfilled posts. It can be seen from these figures that, with only 31% of the total number of teachers, the religious bodies control about 89% of all secondary education.

At present, the Church has no direct or formal influence in the running of technical schools. Briefly, the community schools proposals means that, in given areas, the boys' secondary school and the girls' school, both of which are run by religious orders, and the local technical school will be lumped together in one community school.' In 'behind-the-scenes' consultations between the government and the Catholic hierarchy from which the vocational Educational Committees were excluded, a system of administration for the community schools was proposed. It emerged that the boards of management of the schools would 'would consist of six members, four representatives nominated by the authorities of secondary schools involved and two representatives nominated by the local Vocational Educational Committees.'

Although these proposals were described by Cardinal Conway as 'the minimum conditions necessary to avoid a dilution of Catholic influence in education,' and were attacked from all sides as 'a sell-out to the Church' and as being 'totally undemocratic.' Dr. Murphy is still far from satisfied. He

complained: 'The arrangements for these schools—the religious orders involved nominated four of a six-member board, of whom two must be parents, the Vocational Educational Authority nominating the other two; after an initial three-year period, the parents will elect their own representatives, so that the religious would then have two representatives only. The appointment of teachers is effectively in the hands of a special selection committee in which the orders have a minority voice. State officials would have a casting vote.'

Despite Dr. Murphy's strictures, the situation is obviously not what is required from the educational system by the Irish capital interests at a time when pressure is being applied to democratise the economy, the Constitution and social conditions generally in preparation for entry to the EEC. Although the Irish Catholic Church, as a whole, is committed to capitalism, it now finds itself, as represented by Dr. Murphy, in conflict with it, to some extent. Insofar as the Church opposes the vulgar materialism of modern capitalism and the encroachment of capitalist interests on the educational sector, it is in fact hindering the development of capitalism. This was seen and expressed by Dr. Kaim-Candle, (interview with Michael Viney in the 'Irish Times' 26th June, 1969). He said that the Catholic Church, being a very conservative and influential body in Irish society, 'will be opposed to change in general and therefore also to the changes which are necessary to create a climate favouring increased productivity.'

Historically, the development of capitalism was accompanied by the spread of Protestantism. The 'Protestant ethic' of 'every man for himself and may the best man win,' together with the idea that morals and codes of behaviour were a matter for private conscience, were eminently suited to the capitalist mode of production. One of the first tasks of the emerging European capitalists was to break the crippling restrictions of the old feudal ideology of Catholicism.

The conservative religious teaching and the narrow social outlook served the interests of Irish capitalism in its period of insular nationalism and its protectionist economy. Now, however, these interests have passed that stage and are attempting to integrate themselves with the international monopoly capitalism. It would certainly be in their interests if they could bring about another Reformation—nearly 400 years after the rest of Europe—to loosen-up and liberalise social attitudes in their pursuit of profits. That this fact is recognised by the most progressive and vocal members of the capitalist class has been clearly shown by the growing demands for legalised contraception, divorce, less rigid censorship of literature, films, plays and art and

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bishop murphy

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now, most recently, in the big outcry against the community school proposals.

Dr. Murphy's opposition to the community schools idea is based on the premise that he can reverse this process. He knows from historical experience that the Church's future is in a highly-industrialised society could be similar to the role being filled by present-day Protestantism in Britain and Catholicism in France. In these countries religion does not interfere with the running of the system to any great extent, in the lives of the majority of people it has become irrelevant. Having been deprived of any real power, it is allowed to continue to operate as the respective 'official' religious ideologies of British and French capitalism. This position was clearly recognised and stated by Keynes, the leading capitalist economist of his time when he wrote 'modern capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers.' And Tawney, in 'Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,' wrote: 'What is certain is that it is the negation of any system of thought or morals which can, except by a metaphor, be described as Christian. Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and State idolatry of the Roman Empire.'

Dr. Murphy's opposition to community schools can be seen as a last ditch stand to hold the line against the forces of modern capitalism.

connolly's socialism and ours

'THE secret of the success of the party lies not in the personality of its leaders, nor in the ability of its propagandists; it lies in the fact that all the propaganda, and teaching of this party was from the start based upon class struggle--upon a recognition of the fact that the struggle between the 'HAVES' and the 'HAVE-NOTS' was the controlling factor in politics, and that this fight could only be ended by the working class seizing hold of political power and using this power to transfer the ownership of the means of life, viz. land and machinery of production, from the hands of private individuals to the community: from the individual to social or public ownership.'

tony crowley on

WORKERS AND THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

ACCORDING to the press report, the recent meeting of the Common Market Defence Campaign 'painted a gloomy picture' on the effects of EEC entry. It was stated that 'The home market would be invaded, with a massive loss of jobs resulting.'

Faced with a statement like this workers must look at the implications of entry to the EEC and possible alternatives.

James Connolly pointed out at the end of the last century, that it would be impossible for Irish capitalism to establish itself independent of imperialism. The world market was already controlled by the major capitalist countries when Irish capitalism began to develop. Britain had a stranglehold on this country and had robbed it of vast quantities of wealth. The southern home market was too small to give the middle class a base to capture any markets from the major capitalist countries.

Connolly wrote: 'If you remove the British army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial interests she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs. England would still rule to your ruin, even while your lips offered hypocritical homage at the shrine of that freedom whose cause you betrayed.'

It was, therefore, inevitable that the southern middle class would be forced to compromise with imperialism. Fianna Fail's short-lived attempt to build an independent economy behind high tariff walls, could not hope to succeed. This policy was not finally abandoned until the late 1950s, when it had led to economic stagnation, massive unemployment and soaring emigration. The only possible alternative at this stage was to open up the economy fully to imperialist exploitation. The Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement and entry to the EEC follow logically from this position.

With the absence of any kind of a socialist alternative for Irish workers, the decision to enter the EEC is much more in their interests than the alternatives being put forward by the Common Market Defence Campaign. The advantages of large scale capitalism as against small scale capitalism have been pointed out by Marx and Engels.

Engels wrote to Marx about German unification. 'The thing has this good side to it that it simplifies the

situation; it makes a revolution easier by doing away with the brawls between the petty capitals and will in any case foster development ... The whole of the petty states will be swept into the movement, the worst localising influences will cease and parties will at last become really national instead of merely local ... In my opinion, therefore, all we can do is to accept the fact, without justifying it, as use so far as we possibly can, the greater facilities for national organisation and unification of the German proletariat, which must now, at any rate, offer themselves. (Engels to Marx, 25: 7: 1866, letter 89 of selected correspondence, page 211.)

Marx replied: 'For the workers anything that centralises the bourgeoisie is of course favourable.' (Page 213, letter 90.)

Considered within the context of the present free-trade era, the reason for EEC entry is clear and straight forward. The United Kingdom is the 26 Counties' biggest market. Because of this dependence on the UK market the ruling class has little choice but to follow the UK in joining the EEC.

It is being widely stated by both sections of Sinn Fein, the Labour Party and other groups, that it is in the workers' interest to stay out. We are told that the home market will be over-run, that there will be mergers, redundancies and massive emigration and that the workers will be much worse off economically if we 'go in.' But what has not been pointed out however, is that the same thing has happened and would persist in happening out of the EEC. It must again be emphasised that capitalism exists at the workers' expense and everything it does is at the workers' expense.

Unemployment in or out of the EEC should be fought on the straightforward working class basis of the 'right to work' against capitalism. Workers have nothing to gain by supporting small capitalism, and small businessmen and other non-working class disgruntled elements against advanced capitalism, as the Common Market Defence Campaign is now doing.

At the local meeting of the Defence Campaign, Michael O Lionsigh 'compared our joining the EEC as full members under the present terms to putting an amateur boxer into the ring with Cassius Clay. In open competition we would be decimated.' After 30 years of protectionist training behind high tariff walls, who could accept that our amateur (gombeen) boxers (capitalists) could suddenly blossom forth as full scale efficient heavyweights, by once again reverting to the totally discredited 'go it alone' policy of petty bourgeois nationalism?

Sean South: a political assessment

by jim kemmy

'IT HAS taken the Republican Movement a long time to catch up with the ideas of Sean South, but I think I can say now that we have seen the light . . .' (oration by Cathal Goulding, Sinn Fein, Gardiner Place, at the annual Sean South commemoration, 3rd January, 1971).

'Mr. Liam Gleeson, a well-known Limerick republican, in an oration, paid tribute to those people for their allegiance to the IRA and for dedicating themselves to the ideals for which Sean South gave his life . . .' Press report of the oration by Liam Gleeson, Sinn Fein, Kevin Street, at the annual Sean South commemoration, 2nd January, 1972.)

These extracts from Sean South annual commemoration speeches, of both sections of Sinn Fein, are fairly representative of their kind. While neither Cathal Goulding nor Liam Gleeson said much about the precise nature of the ideas and ideals of Sean South, his political ideology is very clearly outlined in a sympathetic biography in Irish, of South, titled 'Maraidh Sean South Areir' ('Sean South Was Killed Last Night'), written by the 'Limerick Leader' columnist, Mainchin Seoighe, (Mannix Joyce). The book was published in 1964, and the quotations taken from it in this article are translated.

Sean South was born in Limerick in 1928. Like most working class Limerick boys, the formative years of his short life, from seven to seventeen, in his case, were spent with the Christian Brothers. He was a keen sportsman, a member of the FCA from fifteen and the Catholic Boy Scouts, in both of which he attained responsible ranks. Mannix Joyce points out in the biography that this showed that he had the right stuff for leadership. Sean South went into employment in an office, after leaving school and soon was getting out a typewritten bulletin (in English) on the activities in his office. He began to take a positive interest in Irish. He started a monthly paper in Irish for the scouts and joined 'Cairde na Gaelige' ('Friends of Irish'), a local organisation founded by a Jesuit.

At this time also he began to take an interest in politics and became involved in 'Ailtiri na La Aiseiri' ('The Architects of Resurrection') and 'Glun na Buaidh' ('Generation of Victory'). Mannix Joyce tells us that the publications of 'Ailtiri na La Aiseiri' had an unquestionable influence on his political philosophy. In the chapter 'The Irish Party System 1938-51' in the book 'Ireland in the War Years and After 1939-51, John A. Murphy describes the politics of 'Ailtiri na La Aiseiri': 'Despising liberal democracy and parliamentary politics, the movement aimed at total national regeneration and the establishment of a corporatist state which would implement the papal social

encyclicals . . . it admired Salazar's work in Portugal and was sometimes accused of anti-semitism . . .'

In the 1948 General Election campaign Sean South spoke on behalf of the 'Clann na Poblachta' ('The Party of the Republic') candidate, the Limerick businessman, George Edward (Ted) Russell, who was defeated. When 'Clann na Poblachta' joined the Inter-Party Government, South broke with them and became interested in Sinn Fein. In 1949, with some colleagues, he founded a group called 'Seadair na Saoirse' ('Champions of Freedom') and was elected its first secretary. Among the group's aims were: (1) To unite all the Irish speakers of Ireland in one great army, to deal a death blow to English; (2) To speak Irish between themselves when they were together even though others were talking to them in English. Their battle cry was 'Death to English! Mannix Joyce states that South retained the 'Seadaire' philosophy to the end of his life. He was determined to have no truck with bilingualism. He founded 'Giollai na Saoirse' ('Servants of Freedom'), a Gaelic organisation for schoolboys and produced a little paper, 'An Dord' ('The Chant') for them, written and illustrated by himself.

The first issue contained a warning to Limerick people about Jehovah Witnesses. According to his biography: 'He was helping the Limerick clergy to get information on the Jehovah Witnesses, who were very active in Limerick at that time, going from house to house, distributing booklets and pamphlets among the people, trying to tempt them from their native religion. For the effectiveness and discretion with which he carried out this work the bishop of the diocese sent his blessing to him and praised him highly for his diligence.'

In the 'forties and all through the 'fifties, unemployment, emigration, low wages and poverty were a permanent feature of Limerick working class life. In the same issue of 'An Dord', Sean South gives an indication of his thinking on industrial relations: 'We are delighted to hear the butchers' strike is ending in Limerick. Indeed, it was more than time. Is there any other city in the country so plagued and beset by strikes'? He went on to assert 'that all Labour Court recommendations should be legally binding, but the Court should be independent just like the ordinary Court.'

The same paper contained a remarkable prayer, which South said to himself every day, and which shows his attitude to the Irish and English languages: 'O gentle Mary, O mild Virgin, who above all women received true power, drive out the regime of the English

tongue from our country and leave the sweet Irish in its stead.'

In 1949 Sean South joined 'An Realt' ('The Star'), the Irish-speaking section of the 'Legion of Mary'. During this period the 'Legion' was actively engaged in virulent anti-communist propaganda of a most crude kind in Limerick.

South joined 'Maria Duce' ('Mary as Leader') and in the summer of 1949 formed a branch of that organisation in Limerick. What was 'Maria Duce'? It was founded by Fr. Denis Fahey, a Holy Ghost priest, for whom Sean had a high regard. According to South's biographer, 'Its paper 'Fiat' ('Let It Be Done'), contained anti-communist, anti-Freemason, and occasionally anti-Jewish views. Hardly an issue came out without an attack on Article 44 of the Constitution, because it did not state clearly that the State recognised the Catholic Church as the only true Church in the world.' (Article 44 guarantees freedom of worship and 'toleration' of religious minorities). Sean South was active in Limerick selling 'Fiat'.

In January of 1949 he had pleased Fr. Fahey very much by writing two letters to the 'Limerick Leader', applauding 'Maria Duce's' campaign against Hollywood actors 'suspected of having communist leanings'. As a reward for his efforts, South received a letter dated 29th January, from Fr. Fahey, which said: 'God will bless you for these letters; they have done my heart good.' Obviously encouraged by this praise and influenced by the McCarthy witch-hunt in America, South followed up his letters with two short articles, written under the pen-name of Fear Fara ('Custodian'). Hollywood films and 'red' actors were the subject of the articles. He then went on to write a long anti-communist article in which he quoted with approval Patrick Pearse's anti-communist speech from 'Barr Bua' ('Victory'), of April 13th, 1912.

Another interesting insight into the aims of 'Maria Duce' is contained in a letter written to the 'Irish Times', on March 7th, 1951, by its secretary, J. P. Ryan. He wrote: 'We proceed to point out that the liberalism of Article 44 of the Constitution stands unequivocally condemned for giving equal recognition to all forms of religious belief, since it is contrary to reason and revelation alike that error and truth should have equal rights (Leo XIII). From repeated Papal pronouncements, it is abundantly clear that the Catholic Church, not only does not condone, but vigorously condemns, the much-vaunted toleration of most modern constitutions.'

What were the views of Fr. Fahey, which influenced South so much in the formation of his political ideas? In the introduction to a pamphlet 'The

Rulers of Russia', published in 1939, Fr. Fahey wrote: 'In this pamphlet I present to my readers a number of serious documents, which go to show that the real forces behind Bolshevism are Jewish forces, and that Bolshevism is really an instrument in the hands of the Jews for the establishment of their future Messianic kingdom.' In another book, 'The Mystical Body of Christ' (1939), he included long extracts from the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, 'The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.'

It can hardly be said that the views which South held in 1949 and in the following years were merely passing flirtations. He retained his membership of the Legion of Mary until 1953. Between August, 1954 and January 1956, he contributed a series of articles on monetary matters to a bi-lingual paper 'Rosca', published by the Gaelic League in Limerick, in which he referred with approval to another one of Fr. Fahey's books, 'Money Manipulation and the Social Order.'

This was the religious and intellectual climate in which Sean South moved and it was in these organisations that he cut his political teeth and shaped his ideology.

Having served a political apprenticeship of this nature, it was a logical progression for South's restless spirit to continue its search for an even more determined and disciplined organisation. His political odyssey ended when he joined the IRA, in 1955.

On New Year's Day, 1957, Sean South died from gunshot wounds received in an IRA raid on Brookeborough Barracks, in the first year of the IRA's Border Campaign. On the long route to Limerick his body was taken through Dundalk, Drogheda and Dublin. Everywhere people gathered in silent sympathy and when the cortege reached Limerick, there was an estimated crowd of 200,000 waiting patiently in the rain to pay homage. Republican supporters had gathered from near and far and the funeral, the largest in Limerick in living memory, marked the highest expression of anti-Partition feeling in the fifties.

It is significant that the IRA attacks on the North coincided with the lowest point of economic depression in the south. In the year of Sean South's death, 94,000 people were unemployed and over 60,000 left the country. At a time of economic crisis, anti-Partitionism provided the Southern Government with a ready-made bromide, which was, and still is, capable of blunting the capital/labour conflict and of creating an all-embracing sense of fellow-feeling among all classes. By smothering the internal class tensions, the anti-Partition feeling acted as an effective device for channelling potential working class agitation and development into sterile nationalistic activity.

Though there was a great deal of public repudiation of the IRA campaign by the Fianna Fail Government, the

ground for the attacks had been carefully prepared almost a decade before. In 1948, all the political parties had embarked on a united and intensive anti-Partition drive. Emotional feelings ran high and were kept at boiling point until they reached their natural outlet in the 1956 Border Campaign. The military campaign itself was a failure, but it had helped to provide a safety valve for the Southern Government's economic problems and had also played its part in frustrating the development of a working class consciousness. The IRA, itself came to recognise the futility of this kind of attack, after the campaign finally petered out in 1962, and in its recent booklet, 'The IRA Speaks', makes this clear: 'As soon as the campaign ended the questioning, examination and assessment began. It was not confined to the 1956 campaign, but covered the role of the Republican Movement after 1916. One thing was evident. The Irish Republican Army had become remote from the people ... It was agreed that the major miscalculations of the past were political rather than military ... The Army had no solid political base amongst the people. It had no clear-cut ideology, which could define to the people what the struggle was all about!'

In the light of this open admission, it has never been explained by Republican speakers how Sean South's ideas and ideals can be reconciled with their respective ideologies of 'Marxist Socialism' (Official) and 'democratic socialism' (Provisional).

In this book, 'The IRA, Tim Pat Coogan states that 'South showed himself in his few writings to be a staunch though not uncritical Catholic and possessed of a social conscience.' One of the documented accounts of South's social conscience is to be found in an article in 'An Dord' in which he criticises the landed gentry and their lavish hunt balls. He wrote: 'We have the names of the people involved in this frivolity and ... the majority of them were English. They came here after the War and took possession of the fertile lands of this country. Remember the amount of blood that was spilt thirty years ago to destroy these. The squires are settled in our midst again with a firm grip on the territory of Ireland and our own people are emigrating because of want and hunger.' It is clear that most of South's antagonism towards the 'gentry' was directed against their English origins and was not rooted in any class basis.

A perceptive analysis of some of South's ideas was contained in a book review of his biography by John Jordan in 'Hibernia', July-August, 1964. The review stated: I intend no disrespect to the memory of South, when I say that it is also a hagiography, designed to appeal to certain quarters with fixed ideas as to what constitutes the best kind of Irish Catholic Republican ... This book is important because the blue-print for a certain kind of image

is almost too perfect ... the 21-year-old Republican was, perhaps unwittingly lending himself to witch-hunting, a fact no less shocking than that the disciple of Tone and Pearse should have been associated with attacks on Article 44.

But I think I have said enough to indicate the way Sean was going, the way he had to go, given his premises of an Ireland united, Gaelic and Catholic, and the interpretations he put on these terms. The fact that he could have acted on his convictions as recently as 1957 is what makes his case so curious as in the image projected by Mr. Seoighe: devout Catholic, fanatic Gael anti-foreigner (foreigners are English, Masonic, Jewish, Communist) and yet professed heir to Tone, an eighteenth century deist with more than a touch anti-clericalism in him, of Pearse, a man of liberal culture ... and of James Connolly, whose 'Labour in Irish History', is unquestionably, a Socialist document.

This handsomely-produced book is not only a tribute to South but a document on the nature of Irish schizophrenia. And that lonely death on January 1st, 1957, is an indictment of our national vice of double think. The sacrifice should not have been in vain.

From a study of Sean South's political development and his writings, he appears to have considered himself an apostle of Pearse and to have moulded himself on the character and image of Pearse. Though he was one of the most literate and articulate Republicans in Limerick, he had a simplistic attitude to the country's problems, probably best summed-up in the words of the ballad ... written about the making of his Republican comrade, Fergal O'Hanlon, who was killed on the same raid as South ... I was taught all my life cruel England to blame ... and so I'm part of the patriot game.'

He gave his life in an attempt to give effect to his belief in a 32 County Catholic Nationalist Ireland. That a million Northern Protestants might have views to the contrary never seems to have shaken his single-minded attitude.

It is futile to speculate on how South would have developed had he lived to see the ecumenical sixties. But it is certain that the mental image of his austere, bespectacled, straight-backed and trench-coated figure will continue to haunt the minds of many people, as a constant and grim reminder of 'the almost too perfect model' of the hot-house Catholicism and perverted nationalism of the period.

Sean South's dedication and bravery are beyond doubt and he did his duty, as he saw it, according to his lights. But the benefits of hindsight, the liberalising effects of free trade economics and the improved educational and communications facilities now available provide a different and wider backdrop against which South and his

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ideas may be examined. His lights were generated by 'the fixed ideas as to what constitutes the best kind of Irish Catholic Republican' of the 1950s, Cold War variety. These lights effected his political vision on some fronts; led him into blind alleys on others and finally impelled him to willingly sacrifice his life for his sincerely held beliefs.

There is a lesson in his life and death: but this lesson has yet to be earned by the Irish working class in the Catholic and Protestant communities. The sacrifice should not have been in vain.

part one:

by jerry burke

THE NATIONALIST MYTH

WITHIN a matter of weeks the Irish people will witness the death of the nationalist myth, which for 800 years has confused, bedevilled and distorted the lives of generation after generation of workers. When Hillery, or Lynch, puts pen to paper, to sign the Rome Declaration, the nationalist myth will finally disappear down the maw of European monopoly capitalism, with its end officially recorded as 'lost without trace'.

The song may have ended but the

melody will still linger on. It would be too much to expect that the disaster of the myth will not leave its effects, and some people may even continue to try to live off the decaying carcass of nationalism. But after 800 years, it would be too much to expect that the myth would die quietly over night.

While Fianna Fail will continue to make noises and pay lip-service to their republicanism, in an attempt to cover their tracks, the fact is that Irish nationalism today, as represented by capitalism, is going into Europe cap-in-hand. In the era of free trade, fantasy involving such things as culture, language and, above all, nationalism, has no place. In its drive for bigger markets and bigger profits, modern capitalism wants no truck with mythology. Against these forces, our national heritage is as dead as cold mutton.

Irish history has been suitably 'interpreted' and blurred to serve the tactics of the ruling class. The task of workers is to lay bare the real course of history and to base the actions of the moment on facts, scientifically derived from investigation. For the ruling class only a distortion of history will serve its interests. Only the deliberate laying bare of history can serve working class interests.

In Ireland, where the history of eight centuries of revolts and rebellions plays a large part in popular awareness, the historical propaganda of capitalist nationalism takes on a great variety of forms. All of these forms are traps to mislead and indoctrinate the working class. One of James Connolly's greatest contributions to the workers was that he saw through this deception in his book 'Labour in Irish History.' He tried to apply the lessons of his work and study to breaking down the myth of the nationalism of the Irish capitalist class. He said: 'As the economic struggle is the preparatory school and training ground for socialists, it is our duty to help guide along right lines the effort of the workers to choose the correct kind of organisation to fight their battles in that conflict. According as they choose right or wrongly, so will the development of class consciousness in their minds be hastened or retarded by their everyday experience in class struggles.'

The transition from gombeen capitalism to monopoly capitalism exposes the nationalist myth for what it is: a device to keep the working class in subjection. How successfully the Fianna Fail Government makes the transition, will show its worth as a capitalist party and its hold over Irish workers. (To be continued).

The 'Leader' and the two nations

The news should be broken that the 'Limerick Leader' has at last recognised the existence of the 'Two Nations' theory. Recognition in itself of course, is not sufficient: the 'Leader' now requires further enlightenment; for the writer of the editorial of January 2nd has only a distorted and superficial knowledge of the theory. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should be dismissed with a few lines of 'Leader' type-print. Yet this practice is typical of the arrogant attitudes of that paper. It has again shown contempt for the intelligence of the workers of Limerick and their understanding of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The 'Two Nations' theory first received publicity in Limerick from the 'Leader's' opposition paper, the 'Limerick Weekly Echo', when it published a report of the public debate between Frank Prendergast, Labour Party and Brendan Clifford, Workers' Association.

This was a breakthrough in the local press for what ten years ago would have been tantamount to heresy.

Yet the 'Leader' feels justified in dismissing the greatest development in Limerick working class political theory with a few ignorant comments and disgraceful implications.

It would be interesting to know if the 'Leader' is now adopting a Provisional IRA line in regard to the North.

The 'Leader's' role in local politics was recalled in the Christmas issue of the magazine 'Hibernia', in an article which analysed the two Limerick newspapers. Needless to say the 'Leader' suffered. 'The paper's credibility was severely damaged by its blind support of Coughlan's campaigns against the Maoists, local Labour opponents, and anti-apartheid protesters,' the article said.

If the 'Leader' continues to promote, as it seems to have, a hard line Provisional view of present-day conflict ravaged Ireland then one can

only assume that the paper has still not recovered its respectable 'credibility.'

In fairness, the 'Leader' allocated space to a number of writers to refute the offensive editorial. However, it should be said that by this time much damage had been caused by the allegation made by the 'Leader' that the 'Two Nations' theory could lead to apartheid.

This has been repeatedly said by people who fear the theory. It has been introduced by those who want to destroy the theory, before it can gain the support of the working class. Those who promote the present system, which enables them to reap large profits, will continue to scream 'apartheid', in an effort to discredit the theory.

The 'Leader', by mentioning South Africa, conjured up horrific images and inferred that this could happen in the North. This was nothing more than a blatant attempt to appeal to the already hate-filled hearts of many Southern Catholic Nationalists.

The hypocrisy of the 'Leader' in taunting the only people putting forward a democratic solution to the national conflict with cries of 'apartheid', highlights the opportunism of its editorial policy.

No editorials, giving the distasteful details of apartheid, were written when the Springboks visited Limerick two years ago. The pro-Springbok editorials and the biased news coverage given to that visit marked a new low even by the 'Leader's' standards.

The 'Two Nations' theory does not stand for a kind of apartheid, or indeed the 'separate development' of the two Irish nations. It stands for unity of peoples . . . for whatever tends to break down national divisions and antagonisms can only further working class unity.

In coming months we shall be taking a closer look at the role being played by the press in Limerick regarding important and vital questions which affect the lives of workers.

A REPLY TO PAT O'CONNOR--

The most recent issue of 'The Worker', published by the Limerick branch of the Young Socialists (a local Trotskyist group), includes an article by Pat O'Connor, entitled 'Socialist Study Group: Origins.'

The article begins by stating: 'In the last few months a number of debates have been held in Limerick on the subject of 'One or Two Nations in Ireland?' These debates have been held under the auspices of the Limerick Socialist Study Group. We have heard a lot on the subject of these debates, but very little is known about the Socialist Study Group. In this article, we take a look at the politics of the Study Group and how it has been influenced and changed since its inception.'

Pat O'Connor goes on to say: 'The Study Group was set up late last year. Its purpose was to bring together in a study group left wing people from all socialist organisations in Limerick.'

This is quite true, and as stated in the article, the group was made up of people from many different organisations, including Sinn Fein, the Young Socialists and the Labour Party. There were also some members of the group who were not committed to any political organisation. The group held many successful debates and was responsible for bringing to Limerick such people as Bernadette Devlin, Matt Merrigan, Brendan Clifford, Pat Murphy, Rayner Lysaght and many others. As this was the first group of its kind to be set up in Limerick, it was not surprising that it attracted plenty of support and it was not uncommon to have an attendance of thirty people at the Group's private meetings and upwards of one hundred at public meetings.

Last year however, the Young Socialists (about six in number) decided to participate in the formation of the Socialist Labour Alliance (which is composed of various Trotskyist groupings). This did not in any way effect their membership of the study group. But as Pat O'Connor states: 'The Young Socialist members in Limerick put their point of view to the Study Group, but after a period of weeks, when it was seen that the people in the Study Group had no interest in revolutionary politics, the Young Socialists withdrew from the group and set about organising a branch of the S.L.A., in Limerick.'

Let us examine what is meant by Pat O'Connor when he says the Young Socialists put their point of view to the Study Group. It would appear that because the Study Group failed to support or join the S.L.A. the members of the Young Socialists felt they could not continue to participate in such a group. In other words, because the Young Socialists failed in their attempt to convert the group to Trotskyism, they decided to withdraw.

They never even paused to consider the fact that many members of the Group had fundamental differences with the S.L.A.

revolutionary politics?

by joe kemmy

and so therefore could not in any way support such an organisation. So much for the logic of the Young Socialists.

In the same paragraph Pat O'Connor continues: 'The members of the Study Group remained within the Labour Party and one of their leading members (Tony Crowley) played a major part in the expulsion of six members of the S.L.A. from St. Mary's branch of the Labour Party.'

This is the classic example of the dishonesty of the Young Socialists. To take the first point, Pat O'Connor has already admitted in his article that all the members of the Study Group did not belong to the Labour Party and yet he tries to give the impression that following the departure of the Young Socialists the only people left in the Group were Labour Party members.

Now to deal with his second point, the alleged expulsion of six members of the S.L.A. from the St. Mary's branch. I wonder if Pat O'Connor would care to answer the following questions:

Was there a resolution before the St. Mary's branch calling for the expulsion of the six members of the S.L.A.?

If there was such a resolution before the branch, would he supply the names of the proposer and seconder of the resolution?

Was such a resolution ever carried by the branch?

If such a resolution was not carried, then the six members of the S.L.A. could not have been expelled. This matter was discussed by the Study Group (which included most of the members of the S.L.A.) and Tony Crowley Secretary of the St. Mary's branch, stated that no one had been expelled and that as far as he was concerned the six members of the S.L.A. were in fact still members of the St. Mary's branch.

All this goes to show the depth to which the Young Socialists are willing to sink in an attempt to discredit the Study Group. No effort is made to explain the disappearance of the S.L.A. from national and local politics and the origins and end of this 'revolutionary' grouping could make an interesting article.

The next part of the article claims that the contradictions in the politics of the leadership of the Study Group are now becoming sharper. In evidence of this Pat O'Connor says: 'Jim Kemmy and Tony Crowley are now actively supporting the 'Two Nations' theory which is being expounded by the I.C.O. He also mentions that 'Jim Kemmy

supports entry into the E.E.C., while some months ago he was opposed to it. How long is 'some months ago'?

Because the I.C.O. considers the Labour Party to be a liberal capitalist party, Pat O'Connor cannot understand how members of the Labour Party can support the 'Two Nations' theory.

The answer is quite simple. By supporting the 'Two Nations' theory one puts forward the only democratic solution to the national question, i.e. full recognition of the national rights of the Northern Protestants. Whether or not the Labour Party agrees with this position does not matter. But it is important that all who claim to be socialists or even democrats take up this position immediately, otherwise it will be impossible to unite the working class and explode the nationalist mythology that has hindered the development of socialism for so long.

With regard to the shift in policy on the question of entry into the E.E.C., there is an article on the E.E.C. in this issue and it will help to clear the matter up. For my own part I would say that after careful study and analysis of any situation where new facts come to light, despite the fact that these facts conflict with previous analyses as reflected in earlier thinking, it is the duty of a socialist to view these facts on their own merits and reject the previous incorrect appraisal.

Of course the Young Socialists would never embark on such a course, as they are quite happy to ignore the facts where the facts do not fit in with their stated policy. The Young Socialists would appear to have great difficulty in separating fact from fiction and it will come as no surprise to the writer if they finish up as most Trotskyist groups seem to finish up, fragmented and isolated.

connolly quote

ALWAYS and ever the working class movement seeks after clearness of thought, as a means to the accomplishment of working class aims. The middle class may and does deceive itself with finely turned phrases, and vague generalising of still vaguer aspirations, but the working class can think and speak only in language hard and definite, as hard and definite as the conditions of working class life. We have no room in our struggle for illusions about freedom.

ROXBORO ROAD SAGA

THE Roxboro Road is far and away the worst road in Limerick city. For the past five or six years workers, housewives and children, coming and going to South Hill, have had to run the gauntlet of pot holes of all sizes, as well as the hazards of sprays of water, from the passing traffic. Officers of the South Hill Tenants' Association, have repeatedly gone on reputation to the Town Hall and have even addressed the City Council, in an effort to have the road re-surfaced. But to no avail. Last week, for the second time in a year, the housewives of South Hill took the matter into their own hands and blockaded the road with prams. And like a political jack-in-the-box, up popped the 'housewives' choice', Ald. S. Coughlan, and, once again, went through his tattered bag of tricks of promises, promises and more promises.

Coughlan will be a long time there before he will point out the class nature of the priorities given to roads and houses in working class areas. The Limerick Corporation, like all other such councils in the country, is there to serve a definite purpose, and it does that in a conscious and clear manner. The real power in Ireland does not lie with City or County councils, they merely provide the essential and non-profit making facilities to enable the business and profit making interests to get on with their money grabbing activities and even at that, the class nature of the Corporation's priorities can be easily seen. Would a road in the condition of the Roxboro Road be allowed to remain as it is, if it were situated in Corbally, Ballinacurra or Mayorstone?

Nationalism!!

IT looks as if the campaign to provide multi-channel television viewing is going to succeed in its aims. The massive support for this campaign, although having nothing to do with socialism, is yet another indication of the pressure building up in Ireland to bring the country into line with the rest of Europe.

However, a strong rearguard action is still being taken up, and in the most unexpected places. Recently, on the 'Late, Late' show an official of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs was questioned about his views on multi-channel TV. He didn't pull his punches and came out strongly against the idea. 'Why should the Irish people be subjected to British propaganda?' he innocently asked, 'somebody, say his minister, Gerry Collins, should take him aside and tell him the percentage of foreign canned programmes shown weekly on RTE, from Britain, America and anywhere else it can get them.'

An Taisce and the sexy salmon

THE amount of public money spent annually by the State and semi-State companies, on what is loosely called 'public relations' must come to a tidy sum. Within the present political system, it is perhaps inevitable that these companies should find themselves sucked into the serious game of conning the people by fair or foul means.

The most recent example of a public relations job well done, was the visit of a Taisce party of almost 100 people to the ESB Salmon Hatchery at Parteen. Mr. Peter Sweetman of the ESB's Public Relations Office (Dublin), travelled to Parteen for the auspicious occasion.

Employment and gimmick-men

Latest figures available show that there are just over 6,000 workers employed on the Shannon Industrial Estate. The American demand for landing rights at Dublin Airport brought the Shannon Action Region Committee into being. This Committee, supported by almost all politicians, at national and local level, has waged a forceful paper battle against the American threat and its implications.

Local politicians however, use the situation to promote themselves. This fact can be seen when now in the city of Limerick 2,500 men and women are without work. This figure is one third of those employed on the Shannon Industrial Estate, yet the local politicians are strangely silent. Are these workless people who swell the dole queues to stand forgotten, while our ever watchful opportunist local politicians stare intently at the sky in case the Americans overfly to Dublin? After all, one of the effects forecast by these same politicians is unemployment on the Shannon Industrial Estate. Yet when one third of the Shannon figure is unemployed in Limerick, there is not even one speech from these opportunist politicians.

Now that the unemployment figures for Limerick have been disclosed, it will only be a matter of days before the political gimmick-men start shedding their crocodile tears about the city's workless. And already, Ald. P. Kennedy, never one to pass up an opportunity for making political publicity, at somebody else's expense, has jumped on the unemployment band-wagon. The only contribution his press statements are making to the employment situation, at this stage, is to provide work for the printers at the 'Leader.'

The visiting party received VIP treatment and judging by the vast amount of publicity lavished on the event, an exciting time was had by all. Don't take our word for it. Let that man of many parts, Seamus O Cinneide, record the scene blow by blow for us.

'Not only did the courtesy of the ESB prevail during the lecture tour of their salmon hatchery, they treated their guests to a delicious tea reception at the Lakeside Hotel, Killaloe, afterwards. Grateful mention must also be made of for their courtesy and helpfulness to everyone.' The rarified, even exalted, guests, the distinguished and highly qualified staff of biologists on hand to dance attendance, the slippery gyrations of the spawning salmon and, of course, the tea (high?) reception at the Lakeside Hotel, all had a heady effect on the privileged O Cinneide. It was, in fact, almost enough to reconcile him to the deeply felt loss of his Fianna Fail party membership card.

By now, I am sure, the penny must have dropped for most of us. What connection had Taisce with salmon breeding? That's a good question as Charles Haughey replied when asked about £100,000.

The connection between an Taisce and fish has escaped the minds of the uninitiated. What possible link could there be between a body established to preserve 'our' cultural and architectural heritage and the sex life of salmon? A few more questions come to mind. How was the outing lined up? How many working class children, from St. Mary's Park or Ballynanty were in the party? Not to worry though. The ESB got their publicity, the Taisce members got their thrills from the close-up of the love-life of salmon. O Cinneide got his bun and tea in Killaloe and we workers collected the tab for the whole shebang.

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