

'THE UNCONQUERED  
SOUL ASSERTS  
ITSELF"

—Connolly

# AN PHOBLACHT

THE REPUBLIC

ORGAN OF IRISH REPUBLICAN OPINION

"BY THE PEOPLE  
THE PEOPLE MUST  
BE FREED"

—Lalor

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## EDITORIAL

THE objects of this paper are simple: to restate, in terms of existing conditions, the political philosophy that has motivated doctrinaire Irish Republicans from the beginning; to combat all forms of revisionism parading under the banner of Irish Republicanism; and to expose and combat all other pseudo-revolutionary propaganda, especially that aimed at exploiting the deep-rooted grievances of the nation's working class, by diverting their energies from their true interest -- the realization of the revolution -- and attempting to commit them to the attainment of crypto-bourgeois objects.

WE are revolutionaries who accept the principles of Irish Republicanism as understood by Wolfe Tone and all subsequent Irish revolutionary theorists. Consequently, our aims are the reconstruction of the nation along lines compatible to the welfare, security and advancement of the common people of Ireland -- that great bulwark of integrity who, throughout the centuries of national adversity have constituted the heart, the body and the soul of Ireland.

WE have no time for Saturday-night revolutionaries, nor for Grattan nationalists masquerading in the garb of Wolfe Tone. The progress of republicanism and the welfare of the mass of the people has suffered enough both from those who talk a damn sight better than they can fight, and from those spurious individuals who hide their parliamentary or bourgeois leanings behind a revolutionary vocabulary. It is time for the air to be cleared and for revolutionaries to state without ambiguity that they stand for the interests of the many over those of the few. 'Tis time that the cliches were cast aside. The people are sick to death with the histrionics of quasi-republicans, and if they are to be rallied for the final assault against colonialism, then, we had better come up with something better than: "Remember 1916."

THE Irish people are an earthy race despite all that nonsense to the contrary. They are shrewd enough to see that the self-styled nationalists who operate in Leinster House, and the republicans who exhort them to elect Sinn Fein to a 32 county Parliament, differ more in terminology than in essentials. Consequently, although the political hair-splitters of the presently functioning Republican Movement have, apparently, mesmerized themselves with their own sophistry they have fooled very few others. And anyone who is not incapacitated either by stupidity or self-conceit can readily see this.

IF we are to regain our position in the vanguard of Irish radicalism; if we are to again secure a mass support behind the banner of Irish Republicanism; then, we must first return to that social, political and economic programme that is both implicit and explicit in our revolutionary tradition. The groundwork must again be laid; activists must again grasp clearly the fundamentals of the struggle against colonialism: so that when the fight is once more waged its direction is clearly understood and its goals clearly and unambiguously defined.

WE are well aware that the task of reopening a revolutionary offensive appears enormous when viewed in the light of prevailing conditions. Yet, our faith in the people, coupled with the knowledge that the status quo inherits in perpetuity the elements of a political crisis by virtue of its origin, makes positive our belief that a decade of constructive revolutionary labour would bear an abundance of fruit. All that is required is a dedicated leadership prepared to approach its task in a revolutionary manner; men who are ready to solve a revolutionary problem by revolutionary means.

THE mass of Irish people have always shown themselves ready  
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REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT  
RECOGNIZES FREE STATE COURT

IN an unprecedented move last July, three members of the Republican Movement were represented by legal council in a Co. Cork court. This step was taken on the advice of the Movement's leaders. The men faced charges of assaulting a Free State policeman; an incident which had its origins in the coercive actions of the police against the sellers of Easter Lilies. The case was a minor one, and the course adopted by the movement has surprised and dismayed republicans throughout the country.

LIFE-LONG republicans have questioned the necessity of this latest move. They fail to see what good can be secured by it, and the general interpretation is that the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein have, in fact, extended their recognition to the Free State. As one old timer put it: "I never thought I'd see the day when republicans would stoop so low."

THE implications of this latest step backwards are obvious: the present leaders have thrown in the sponge; they have lost hope in the ability of republicans to re-establish the Republic. And this incident is but one of many which points to their lack of will and the breakdown in moral fibre that is becoming more and more apparent as the year progresses.

SINN FEIN HOLDS  
EXTRAORDINARY ARD FEIS.

THE crisis within Sinn Fein came briefly to the surface on the week-end prior to Bodenstown, when an extraordinary Ard Feis was called to deal with the question of revising the party's attitude towards Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster. Also, the matter of the sale of Easter Lilies was brought forward, with the motion that their sale be vested in the National Graves Committee, and that this body then apply for a "Pedlar's License" to the Free State regime.

BOTH motions were defeated. Consequently, the Belfast leader, Sean Caughey, broke with Sinn Fein and immediately set about the organization of his own group. The scene is becoming more and more complicated as these petty bour-

geois democrats fall out amongst themselves and then set about the formation of their own isolated cliques.

IT would be foolish to think that Sinn Fein's internal crisis is now solved with this latest break-away. Far from it. Actually such dissension is inevitable because of the violent contradiction between the petty bourgeois spirit of Sinn Fein on the one hand, and its decision to abstain from the country's mainstream of petty bourgeois politics on the other. It is only a matter of time before yet another dispute arises within Sinn Fein. In the meantime it's the case of leading the fool further as that body of sincere, but unthinking, republicans continue to support a party that can bring no good to their cause.

WHAT'S THE I.R.A. UP TO NOW?

THE most of us are no longer surprised by anything the republican Movement does. However, the I.R.A. statement on the "Midleton Anti-Landlord War" sent a good few of us hardy sceptics rocking. It is not that we object to the "Army" entering into politics. No indeed. We have always held that revolutionary politics and military action are indivisible. But what sort of politics is this with its: "We demand that the de facto government" do this, and "We demand that the de facto government" do that?

IT'S a queer sort of revolution. And to say the least, the whole statement smacks of a social democrat influence. We can't say that the I.R.A. is improving itself by changing from a bourgeois democrat to a social democrat ticket. There's little difference between them to any revolutionary.

TO OUR READERS

WE hope you will enjoy this introductory issue of AN PHOBLAcht. With your co-operation we hope to see it grow both in size and coverage in the near future. If you agree on the need for a revolutionary voice to reassert the traditional Irish Republican position, then support our effort. Support AN PHOBLAcht by a financial contribution to offset production costs. Also, we will welcome any articles on revolutionary affairs, or criticisms on any material published in our columns. Local agents will be commissioned.

--Editor.

PROGRESSIVES

versus

TRADITIONALISTS:

WHERE DOES REPUBLICANISM STAND?

MANY within that ever narrowing circle of "Sinn Fein Reliables" were noticeably shocked earlier this year when the UNITED IRISHMAN questioned the sanity of Abstentionism in its editorial columns. Frankly, we were more than a little startled ourselves, because this was the first occasion since beginning publication that the U.I. has even hinted at the fallibility of the party line.

IN effect, the editorial suggested that if Sinn Fein is to pursue a practical course of political action it must enter actively into political arenas of the Partitionist regimes. More especially, it should take an active part in Free State politics and enter Leinster House. The line of argument in support of this is reminiscent of that forwarded by de Valera some forty years ago. And we will readily admit, that from the point of view of Sinn Fein's basic aims, it makes a lot of sense.

SINN FEIN is, after all, a body which subscribes to what is termed a constitutional or parliamentary mode of politics. It stands for a 32 county parliament, to be sure. But, it only proposes to alter those elements of the present set-up that are contrary to the functioning of such a parliament. In a word, Sinn Fein does not, and never has, proposed to eradicate the colonial order of things. It simply says it will consolidate them under a 32 county Home Rule executive. Therefore, since Sinn Fein stands only for the unification of the prevailing social, political and economic order, and not for its total destruction, the differences between it and the various Free State parties are symbolic rather than fundamental. And because of this the "Progressives", who propose entering Leinster House are being more realistic than the "Traditionalists", who intend to perpetuate the farce of Abstentionism.

SO much for political realism. However, it must be pointed out that this controversy in no way touches on the basic principles of the Irish Revolutionary Republican doctrine. The revolutionary republicanism emanating from Wolfe

Tone stands for one thing; the Sinn Fein organization, despite its opposition to Griffith in 1922, still perpetuates the philosophy of its founder and, consequently, stands for something which is completely different. So that while it is within the realm of common sense to agree on the practicality of Sinn Fein's entry into Free State politics, it does not follow that this is equally applicable to an organization sincerely striving to realize our traditional revolutionary objects.

THIS brings us to the crux of the enigma which continues to plague Irish Republicans.

IT has become the vogue to consider Sinn Fein theories as the essence of the Irish Revolution. Whereas, in fact, those theories are derived from a source that was frankly antagonistic to the aims of that revolution: Griffith and his associates were revolutionaries in no sense of the word. However, in 1917 when militant republicans combined with the bourgeois democrats of Sinn Fein, Griffith's policies, without that little gem: The Lords and Commons of Ireland, were placed in a position of ascendancy on the political platform of the Fight for Freedom. There they have remained ever since. They were the primary source of trouble in 1922; and they continue to cause trouble in more ways than one today.

THE fact that the Republican Movement continues to restrict its political position to the theories of Sinn Fein creates many a paradox that would be comic under other circumstances. Such a situation finds republicans adhering to a philosophy of politics which is being practised by the Free State. And this, in effect, means that anything the Republican Movement proposes to achieve outside the arena of Free State politics can also be acquired within its framework. As said before, any differences are in symbols rather than in essentials. Consequently, for so long as this continues it is inevitable that the Republican Movement will remain in that impasse which now plagues it. The only escape open is either a return to the traditional revolutionary politics of Republicanism, or, as proposed by the Progressives, entry into the mainstream of Free State affairs.

THE "Progressives", like the de Valerites of forty years ago, pro-

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pose that Sinn Fein must take this step to survive. From the bourgeois democratic point of view this is a sensible and practical proposition. However, to contend that it is a necessary step towards the realization of that Nation State first envisioned by Wolfe Tone, is pure hogwash. And if any doubts remain on this score then, little has been learnt from recent history.

WE, of course, have little interest in what Sinn Fein, as a political party, does with itself. Frankly, from our viewpoint it would be no mean blessing if that body of reactionaries joined their ken in Leinster House. It would take a lot of dead weight off the back of republicanism. Then, perhaps, we could nuckle down to getting this revolution of ours back on the rails. Then, we could return to Tone, to Lalor, Connolly and Pearse as our source of inspiration, and to hell with that insidious body of politics whose fountainhead is Griffith and whose carrier has been his creation--Sinn Fein.

IN conclusion, we want to draw attention to the fact that the progressive Sinn Feiners, like the other variety, are strenuously endeavouring to enmesh the truly republican organizations such as the I.R.A., Cumanna mBan and Na Fianna in their schemes. These organizations are fundamentally republican. It would be more than a pity to see them all go to the dogs, since their ranks still hold many an activist who could do good service for Ireland. Let it be hoped that these people will soon appreciate their position, and the manner in which they have been used and will continue to be used, for so long as Sinn Fein politicians dominate their efforts. To recover, the Irish Revolution needs the combined efforts of all true men.

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION UNITE.

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EDITORIAL

to lend their weight to the realization of our revolution. And this is but natural, because it proffers the only practical solution to the problems which beset them. However, the revolutionary faith of the people has too often been made the play-thing of men who have proved too ready in accepting compromise. As a result, the people are wary. They are scept-

ical of big talkers. Yes! and they are also sceptical of those who exhort them to sacrifice and labour for ambiguous and questionable ends.

TO regain the backing of our people we must return to that path first blazed by Wolfe Tone, and which was so explicitly defined by his contemporary, Jimmy Hope, who said: "it was my settled opinion that the condition of the labouring class was the fundamental question at issue--and there could be no solid foundation for liberty till measures were adopted that went to the root of the evil."

PRIESTS ON POLITICS.

"On one occasion I gave considerable offense by maintaining, at a clerical dinner, that the priests were not the natural leaders and guides of the people in political matters; and that the position which the clergy had so long occupied in Irish politics was justified only on grounds of necessity, which was passing and would soon be altogether past."

Dr. Walter McDonald,  
Professor of Theology, Maynooth.

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"The Ballot Box is simply a Capitalist concession. Dropping pieces of paper into a hole in a box never did achieve emancipation of the working class, and in my opinion it never will."

Father T. J. Hagerty.

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"When people ask me what England has given to Ireland, I answer 'The Poor House'."

Dr. Duggan, Bishop of Clonfert.

REVOLUTIONARY PROPHETS

"The people need prophets. And those servants or prophets of the people are not necessarily elected representatives of the people. Their mission starts in their own hearts and consciousness. In this sense they are self-appointed prophets. They are needed in the normal functioning of a democratic society. They are needed especially in the periods of crisis, birth, or basic renewal of a society. It is a fact that the great historical changes in political societies have been brought about by a few, who were convinced that they embodied the real will of the people."

-- Jacques Maritain.

## PHYSICAL FORCE:

### ITS ROLE IN THE IRISH REVOLUTION.

"A thing that stands demonstrable is that nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms: in one or two instances there may have been no actual bloodshed, but the arms were there and the ability to use them. Ireland unarmed will attain just as much freedom as it is convenient for England to give her; Ireland armed will attain ultimately just as much freedom as she wants."

THIS is Pearse, writing in 1913 on "The Coming Revolution." Republicans continue to be burdened with the task of realizing that revolution, and they had better grasp, grasp thoroughly and completely, the truth of Pearse's words: "nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms."

TODAY, there are people masquerading as Irish Republicans who say it is no longer practical to act on this premise. The use of force, they will tell you with the plausibility of a smooth talking politician, has been outmoded by changing circumstances: it is now possible to arrive at that order of things for which past generations sacrificed their all without too great an inconvenience to those involved. It's a grand thought; one which has, no doubt, an enormous appeal to that brand of arm-chair rebel we have seen so much of lately. But it is also one of the oldest cliches in Irish history. We've heard it before. And unless this generation of Irishmen get off their rear-ends, learn both the theory and practice of revolution, and then put into motion an effort possessing fair prospects of success, a future generation will undoubtedly have to listen to the same rigmarole again.

THE status quo in Ireland stands armed and ready to maintain its continuity by force. Its security rests ultimately on the vigilance of its POLITICAL POLICE and the loyalty of its ARMED FORCES. In times of calm it gladly pays lip-service to the rule of law; but when the chips are down, when its security is threatened, the only law it will heed is that of force. Surely there has been sufficient evidence within the past three or four decades alone to adequately prove this even to the dumbest of men. And if there still be some, as in 1956, who say the Free State

(for instance) will not, indeed cannot, move against Republicanism for so long as the law is being observed, then, all that can be said is: who needs enemies with allies such as those?

MAKE no mistake on this issue Irish Republicans: if you desire to reap the fruits of freedom you had better be prepared to fight, and fight damn hard, to first secure them. And what is more, you must also be prepared to defend them once secured, for so long as the prevailing colonial system is rampant; for so long as an exploiting class possesses the power to embark at will on its customary piratical crusades. To ignore this basic truth and pretend that an usurping power can be deposed, or its fundamental trends altered, via its own political machinery, is to commit oneself to the enervating and destructive powers of that political carousel so dear to the hearts of the bourgeoisie.

PHYSICAL force and revolutionary politics are indivisible. This is a situation emanating from the attitudes of the ruling classes rather than desired or determined by revolutionaries. Because, when a movement of men embark on the task of altering what is the exclusive and profitable domain of a select clique, a struggle is inevitable. The possessors will fight, and fight hard and dirty to hold what they have; revolutionaries must fight harder and better to destroy them. And in such a struggle there can be no room for compromise.

HOWEVER, it is of the utmost importance that force, though imposed upon revolutionaries, is still retained in a proper perspective by them.

FORCE, when correctly employed by revolutionaries, always represents a means by which certain objects are achieved. It is that motive power that transports social, political and economic principles from the realm of theory to the plane of applicability. Force is the mailed fist of revolutionary principles; but it is not, and never can be, a revolutionary principle in itself. It is imperative that contemporary Irish revolutionaries fully grasp the essence of this unalterable relationship between force and principles, so that previous mistakes, arising from a misinterpretation of the true function of physical force in a revolutionary

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situation, will not be repeated at a future date.

ONE of the great weaknesses of Irish Republicanism from the late 19th century onwards was its fixation with physical force. Republicans styled themselves "Physical Force Men." They elevated force to the status of a revolutionary principle; indeed the only principle to which they subscribed and the only gauge by which they measured the worth of a man. If a man gave allegiance to the proposition of freeing Ireland by force, then, he was all right, regardless of what else he believed in. Should it happen that a physical force man also believed in republican principles there was no great danger. But as James Connolly pointed out, "it may be they are believers in monarchy; it may be that Home Rule would satisfy them; it may be that they despise Home Rule." Then, of course, such a movement would find itself in one hell of a mess, especially when it came near to victory. Indeed, Connolly prophesied as early as 1899 that such a movement would, "in the very hour of apparent success, be utterly disorganized and divided by the passage ... of any trumpery Home Rule Bill." And did not this happen in 1922?

THE dangers of such a situation are sufficiently apparent; and it should be obvious to revolutionaries that while it is correct to believe in force as the means of forwarding the revolution, it is of paramount importance to retain perspective between the means and the objective. The solidarity of a revolutionary movement must always rest on the unanimous acceptance of a specific set of social, political and economic principles which, it is hoped, will be realized through the medium of force. In practice this means that a revolutionary organization should recruit personnel on the basis of a belief in its socio-political programme, and a preparedness to fight so as to implement that programme.

HERE then is the criterion of a good revolutionary: a man who is competent both politically and militarily. In like manner, a movement founded on a sound appreciation of the laws governing the organization and operation of revolutionary efforts will see to it that political education goes hand in hand with military training. A revolutionary movement is organized and trained to fight; it is also made ready to assume the political leadership of the nation once the

fighting is over. To ignore this simple, yet very important, formula is like advancing in battle without due notice to the security of your rear.

### GUERRILLA WARFARE

THE main strength of guerilla warfare is found in its very lack of military formality. Peasants or workers by day, guerilla fighters by night: this formula tells not the whole story, but a good part of it. Guerilla warfare is conducted by civilians who usually have little formal military experience and little patience with the science of tactics by which modern mass armies operate. The abiding impetus which spurs the guerilla is the intense desire to expel the invader, or the colonizer. The most powerful assets at his command are native shrewdness, familiarity with local environmental factors, keen understanding of his own people, and the political know-how which enables him to exploit latent conflicts inherent in the international situation. To the highly disciplined mind of the military professional, the guerilla's methods of fighting often appear illogical. One of the most distinctive features of guerilla strategy is its lack of a logical procedure which can be anticipated and thwarted by the enemy.

A guerilla force can neither survive nor function without community support. At first glance, the problem of how, when and where a clandestine guerilla force, operating within an enemy-held zone, can obtain the necessary food, arms and funds may appear insurmountable. Basically, the guerilla may have access to three sources of supply: the local native community, friendly parties outside, and the enemy himself.

THE guerilla, once he possesses the arms for the initial offensive, can augment his arsenal with arms garnered in ambushes of enemy soldiers, and in commando-type raids against isolated enemy supply depots. By the time the occupying power can assess the threat, the guerilla may possess enough striking power to attract attention to his cause from abroad. Once he gains military "respectability," the guerilla is in a more favorable position to arrange for the importation of arms from foreign sources.

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## VIET NAM:

### AMERICA'S DIRTY WAR.

IT is with no uncertain amazement that Irish revolutionaries follow the course of the present struggle in South Viet Nam. Because here is a war which presents the exhilarating spectacle of a revolutionary guerilla army holding one of the world's great imperialist powers at bay. Our sympathies must, of course, rest on the side of the peoples' fight for freedom; and it would be a sad day indeed for our country if the Irish people as a whole did not feel a like sympathy.

NO amount of propaganda can obliterate the fact that the war in Viet Nam represents a peoples' struggle for self-determination. The American government's rantings about North Vietnamese and Chinese communist "aggression" is pure hog wash. In fact, all available evidence points the other way.

TO DATE no Chinese or North Vietnamese troops have been captured. And as for war material: The U.S. State Department's own white paper on Viet Nam clearly shows that of the material captured during the period 1962-63, only 2½% could be classified as communist-made. And it is more than probable that of this amount many of the weapons are left-overs from the previous fight against the French.

SENATOR MORSE of Oregon has opposed U.S. involvement in Viet Nam from the beginning. On the subject of alleged "aggression" from the north he has stated categorically in the U.S. Senate that he has repeatedly cross-examined witnesses from the Pentagon and State Department and has always received the answer that there are no military personnel in South Viet Nam from North Viet Nam, China, Laos, Cambodia or anywhere else. When he asked the question: "Are the Viet Cong South Vietnamese entirely?" he was answered "Yes." The same is true of their weapons. Morse concludes that the so-called "supply-lines" which Americans are bombing are little more than a myth.

LIMITED space denies a detailed examination of the many false charges pertaining to "communist aggression" which are constantly being issued by the American propaganda machine, and which are being faithfully parroted by our own so-called national press. And it is amazing how many of the Irish people accept these lies as fact, simply because they are prominently tagged with the label of "Communism."

THERE is no doubt, of course, but that many of the Vietnamese

revolutionaries adhere to the communist philosophy. But can this be considered a just cause to wage a war of extermination on a people and deny them freedom? The American government thinks so; and it endeavours to cover its colonialism in the cloak of a Christian crusade so as to secure the moral support of the mass of unthinking Christians for its barbaric wars. But, as a prominent Roman Catholic primate said recently: "We must always remember that if there are communists, it is God's will." We cannot justify any crusade to annihilate them. This is not in accord with the teaching of Jesus Christ, which says: do good to them who hate you, bless them who curse you, and pray for them who persecute and calumniate you. Apparently, the President of the United States has received a countermanding directive from the Almighty which negates this basic tenet of Christianity.

IRISH REVOLUTIONARIES have often been called communists themselves by the lackeys of British colonialism. During and after the "Tan War" it was very popular in such circles to say that the Irish Revolution was not an independence movement but part of the communist plan to take over the world. Phillips, who was a professor of modern history in the University of Dublin during the 20's wrote: "the revolution in Ireland is not in its nature local or isolated. It is but part of the revolution which has been in progress to a greater or less degree everywhere... This is one reason why this book bears the title, not of 'The Irish Revolution', but of 'The Revolution in Ireland'." We have heard the same spiel during and prior to the late campaign in the North. And what a laugh that was, when we ourselves knew, as did the colonial regimes, that the Communist Party in Ireland and Britain were actively opposed to the republican effort.

WE certainly cannot turn our faces against the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people simply because imperialism labels it communist. And any Irishman who does is unworthy of our own heritage, and a poor product of a nation which has fought colonialism for so long. There are some who style the Vietnamese the "Irish of South East Asia." As Irish revolutionaries we accept this as a compliment, and hope the Vietnamese revolutionaries feel likewise. Both peoples have fought long and hard for their freedom, and for our part we hope the Vietnamese will soon realize their hopes; as we shall continue to labour towards the realization of our own.

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## ALGERIA:

### BEN BELLA OUSTED.

ON the 19th of June last President Ben Bella was removed from office and in his place a Revolutionary Council, with Col. Boumedienne as Chairman, was installed to direct the Algerian nation.

IT is now obvious that this drastic step was necessitated by Ben Bella's cultivation of a "Personality Cult." As Col. Boumedienne has said just recently: "He (Ben Bella) tried to transform himself into a prophet who said, 'we have come to you with a message'." He added: "As Arabs and a Moslem people, we believe in only one God." The new Leader then continued: "We found ourselves at the mercy of the power, of the goodwill of a single person and I might even say without any animosity, of a tyrant, who at his personal whim condemned and then rehabilitated people within the space of a week."

WE in Ireland have enough experience with the evils of a Personality Cult to feel sympathy for the Algerian revolutionaries. Some can remember when jackasses accepted the Treaty with the motto "What's good enough for Collins is good enough for me." We have also seen that blind obedience accorded to deValera. Yes! we have seen enough of those dastards who consider themselves the right hand of God to appreciate the wisdom of this latest action in Algeria.

ANOTHER motive for the removal of Ben Bella lay in his political commitments. He had drawn very close to the foreign policies of Moscow, and in this regard had allowed Algeria to become a pawn in international politics. In addition, he had surrounded himself with a weird collection of Moscow-line communists (social democrats) and Trotskyists, who endeavoured to use Algeria as an experimental ground for their economic-political "theories". All of this naturally contributed to his downfall.

IT is too early yet to know what direction the Algerian revolution will now take. However, statements made by Col. Boumedienne, and the calm and dignified manner in which he has conducted himself, cultivates the belief that the change will work for the best.

AS revolutionaries we can only extend our support to Algeria. The Algerian people are, after all, the best judges; and it is their right alone to choose the road best suited to the advancement of their revolution.

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ANGOLIAN liberation forces, still in the early stages of mobilization and training, are already scoring respectable victories over the Portuguese colonialists. In Portugal itself the Fascist dictatorship of Salazar is facing a growing opposition.

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SPAIN. Opposition to Franco is steadily growing as the left, in conjunction with liberal Catholics, continue to develop their organizations.

As usual, workers lead the attack with mass strikes, etc. Students are engaging in militant demonstrations to an ever-growing degree. And the people generally are again mobilizing to combat their exploitation by the Fascist blood-suckers. Franco's efforts at peace-making with church and other social and political groups is being hailed by "the appeasers" as a turn towards democracy, but this actually signifies no more than an attempt to broaden the mass base of the ruling junta. As this move will mean more supporters to share the spoils, it portends a deterioration, not an improvement, in conditions for the mass of working people who will be forced to pay the shot.

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SOUTH AMERICA. Guerilla, as well as other forms of revolutionary political actions are the order of the day in a growing number of Latin American countries. The entire area gives the impression of being a gigantic tinder box ready to blow up at any moment. It's only a matter of time before the American imperialists will have their backs to the wall in this area as well as in Asia.

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"THE present crisis in Ireland is shattering many reputations and falsifying many predictions, but to the careful observer it is becoming daily apparent that it will leave intact at least one reputation, that of those who pinned their faith in the working class as the anchor and foundation of any real nationalism that this country can show."

James Connolly.