

Action and Reaction in Ireland

Eamon De Valera is here and the Irish Nationalists are drunk with enthusiasm. They have answered the siren song of nationalism and their antics are disgusting to one who has emancipated himself from the spook of patriotism.

De Valera's purpose in this country is to arouse sympathy for the Irish Republic so that he may secure the aid of the United States in gaining independence for Ireland. Independence means that the Irish workers will no longer be robbed in the terrible English way but in the future will be robbed in the good old Irish fashion.

De Valera is very much interested in floating \$5,000,000 worth of Irish bonds and probably hopes to have as much success as did his grandfather. The contributions made to Irish freedom, of course, will total no small amount and 'twould be just as well if the contributors do not demand too strict an accounting of their funds.

It is very discouraging to see the Irish workers in America "fall" for this propaganda of Irish freedom and we have sometimes despaired of their developing beyond that point. However, the development of the capitalist system is having its effects upon them and they are gradually learning that Sinn Fein (Ourselves) or Ulster Unionist movements can mean nothing to the working class of Ireland.

Amidst all this stench of nationalism the following manifesto comes like a breath of fresh air from Ireland. We do not know the calibre of the organization that produced it, but regardless of its size or character the manifesto is evidence that there are some revolutionary workers in Ireland.

MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND.

To The Irish Working Class.

Fellow Workers:

There has not been a cause in Ireland for which Irish workers have not fought on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. The time has at last come when they must fight for their own—for the emancipation of their class. The time has come when we must organize towards the establishment of our liberation from the wages-system which exploits our human power to labour and produce wealth.

If Ulster Unionist prevails there will still remain an Irish working class. If Sinn Fein prevails there will still be an Irish working class. There will still remain an Irish master class, content to be masters of Irish human beings.

Let us determine that we who produce all that is produced in Ireland—that we who make Ireland habitable and fertile shall not longer yield the produce of our labour to the masters who whip us with the tyranny of wages. Let us resolve that we shall no longer "build and another inhabit—sow and another reap," but that we shall make Ireland a Socialist Republic, wherein shall dwell no parasite nor profit-taker and all will contribute to the needs of all and the harmony of the commonwealth.

Irish Labour has been organized to a high percentage during the last two years particularly. All over Ireland are Trade Union branches. On the basis of "increased wages," workers have organized. The working-class represents the vast majority of the people, and yet, even with "increased wages," its standard of living never exceeds the bare subsistence level and never will as long as the wages system endures, because wages, or the purchasing prices of human labour are always measured by the employing class according to the minimum level of qualifying and sustaining the wage labourer.

James Connolly pointed out that "Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland." It has now become the most obsolete because the national, or mass-mind of the rank and file see far beyond it in their conception of

industrial democracy. They respond with an irrepressible fellowship to the new economic order with which Russia has begun to deluge the vile tyrannies of the capitalist system of the world.

Capitalism, which originated in aggrandisement and wholesale expropriation, has endured into the warfare of exhaustion.

We can dispense with the capitalists. We cannot dispense with labour and the power to produce wealth.

Only the working class possesses this power. The working class of the world has begun to assert this power.

The working class of Ireland is ripe for the same assertion.

The leaders of official Labour have failed during the revolutionary years of 1917-1919 to formulate or direct an economic policy upon the basis of the emancipation of the exploited Irish people.

They have not admitted their failure and claim that, as leaders, it is their function to be led by the rank and file.

Let us lead them! Let us see to it that they become the obedient servants of the class whose interests they advocate. Let us point the way and see to it that they neither impede nor fail us, but that they march side by side with us in fidelity to the magnificent cause of our emancipation. Remember! There is but one thing to destroy—capitalism; one thing to construct—Socialism.

It is impossible for us to take immediate control of the land of Ireland—the industries of Ireland because the existing organization of the workers is based on surface Trade Union safeguards and reform of present conditions.

Reform is no use to us. We require a revolution of the existing economic order, so that the many who have not shall come into control and possession, and the few who have all shall become dispossessed of all but the right to co-operate with us on terms of mere human equality.

We must organize ourselves into workers' committees round the factories, farms and workshops where we are employed, and from these works' committees elect in all the existing Parliamentary Divisions of Ireland Workers' Councils, i. e., councils

The Split in the Socialist Party

By JOSEPH V. STILSON
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The history of the split in the Socialist Party really begins in 1916, when Allan Benson was named as standard-bearer for the party. This man, as candidate for President of the United States, travelling through the country agitating for his election, never in his speeches mentioned by as much as half a word the class struggle. On the contrary, his advocacy had nothing in common with Socialism. I remember the newspaper report of his speech at Cleveland, Ohio, where to the question "why does he not speak about the class struggle instead of talking only about votes of the citizens and the whole lot of "good" he is going to do when he is elected President," he answered "The present is no time to talk of such things as the class struggle."

The elections, as we know, gave sad results, the number of Socialist votes declining to half the number cast for Comrade Debs in 1912. At the same time the party members whose brains were not filled with such "socialism" as that which was "established" by Berger and his friends in Milwaukee,

of working men and women, to whom we can depute the fulfillment of the social and industrial needs of the special areas which elect them.

By organizing on these lines we shall be liberating the local forces of the Irish working class. We shall create the incentive towards control and ownership of the means of production and social life, which at present, in the hands of the master class, are used as the means wherewith to exploit the mass of the Irish people. Fellow-workers, it is in the power of the rank and file to do this. It is in our power to transform existing organizations of our class out of their present appeals for "increased wages" and similar palliatives into forces which will function towards control of the means of life, and establish us once for all above our present slavery into a moral standard of human life. Let us be fearless. In liberating the Irish working class we are lifting Ireland into the lofty purpose of the Russian pioneers who have turned the base greed of the European war for possession of fresh markets of exploitation into the tremendous redemption of the world's working class.

Let us contribute our heroism to the class war which is spreading over the world, so that from "generation to generation" those who come after us will do homage to our courage in an era of human release and golden opportunity, an era wherein the common and equal peoples of the future will tread across the memories of our age of degradation into the happy triumphs of human attainment such as the world has never theretofore known.

Let us not dream now, but arise and act. Let us act quickly. Let us escape from a neutrality which supports the master class of the world and take our stand firmly with the working class of the world in the class war which is thundering over the earth. All power to the Workers' Councils of Ireland the speedy emancipation of the Irish working class!

On behalf of the National Executive of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland.

THOMAS PENNYCOOK,
(National Secretary.)

began to look for means whereby the party could be set on a better foundation, giving it class character cleared of the petty bourgeois hash which had flourished, not only in the party's platforms, but in all of its literature and at all its meetings. But now was it to be done?

Everyone interested in the earlier part of the American labor movement, remembers well the "order" that prevailed in the party: in every nook there was a "boss," every "boss" had his own organ, and every organ advocated new "socialism." The new "education" was spread both among the party members and the working masses in general. The party itself hardly printed any literature at all. It was satisfied with the distribution of "private" literature, which often elucidated questions in such manner that the European socialist (even the "centrist" German!) after coming to this country and learning its language would read a pamphlet on the possibilities of Ford "Socialism," or a pamphlet urging that the capitalist government must become the owner of the trusts (as if it were not already a tool of the trusts), or a pamphlet proving that the party candidates, when elected to the City Council will "ease the life of the working class" by decreasing the prices of food, milk depots, electric plants, street car systems, etc., the immigrant Socialist would cry out: "In the country of dollars the Socialists are of the dollar kind also! Their party will never rise if it continues to follow in these old tracks."

Of course, the capitalistic system itself was breeding the revolutionists. To fence in the Socialist Party so that the revolutionists could not enter was the task which the party officers could not quite accomplish. And on account of the party's dilapidated machinery and steadily declining influence among the working class, not only was dissatisfaction growing among the members, but the revolutionary elements, in the fall of 1916, became so bold that they openly dared to raise their voices against such persons as Benson, Berger, Goebel, and others, who spoke in the name of the Socialist Party to advocate the "socialism" of Bismarck. But these revolutionary elements in the party were confronted with quite a delicate question. Something had to be done immediately if the party was to be saved not only from the clutches of persons who have nothing in common with the political action (in the real sense of the word) of the working class, but from its complete dilapidation as well.

The entire political machinery of the party was in the hands of the opportunists; the entire press was also in their hands. They held not only the party reins, but the means of communication as well. Then what could be done by the members who saw in the activity of the leaders, in the party tactics and even in its principles only peril to the labor movement; only the useless waste of energy and money for the "agitation and propaganda" for offices in government institutions for the benefit of the individual persons? The hope still entertained by some that Socialist "representatives" in the government had some importance, disappeared like a dream during Meyer London's term in Congress, blowing the horn of "democracy." At that time somewhat sharper criticism had appeared also for the German "social-

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