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"We are not going to have an independent republic in Ireland. What tactics we should employ, what weapons we should use, what machinery we should bring to bear—moral, political, military, economic—whatever it might be that we should do, whatever it was that we thought the best and most convenient, this we should undoubtedly bring to bear on any attempt to set up an independent, sovereign Republic of Ireland." — Winston Churchill, House of Commons, 2 March 1922.

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In October the British prime minister, Liz Truss, resigned. The capitalist media informed us that her economic policies did not find favour with the financial markets, and as a result she had to go. Page 2 **Jimmy Corcoran on the 'Democracy' fairytale**

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JIMMY COCORAN DEMOCRACY

ONCE TRUSS had been removed, the Tories selected a new prime minister, and the media moved on from the story, partly because it had the potential to expose the lie at the heart of bourgeois “democracy,” i.e. that we live in societies that are “governed by the people, for the people.”

The dominant ideology in capitalist societies is that the state is neutral, and that the will of the people, as reflected in elections, determines who governs. That is the fairytale; the reality is far different.

The removal of Truss was a clear display of class power by the British

ruling class. Despite the fact that Truss supports capitalism, and that her economic policies favoured the rich in British society, the British capitalist class believed that her policies threatened the stability of the state as the latest capitalist crisis deepened; therefore they moved against her government.

Unlike the situation in Allende’s Chile, Bolivia under Morales, and many other countries, the British ruling class did not need the army to remove the government. It was a very “civilised” coup. Once Truss was gone, everything was back to normal. It was a lesson in the exercise of class power in an advanced capitalist country. It is not the parliament, nor is it the government, that



EUGENE MCCARTAN NEUTRALITY

THE IRISH STATE and the ruling class continue to push for this state to abandon military neutrality and secure further military co-operation both within the EU and with NATO.

It is during a crisis that opportunities arise for pushing forward a position that we know on another occasion would be too difficult to sell or pursue.

The NATO proxy war in Ukraine has presented the Irish state with an opportunity to advance its long-held goal of abandoning neutrality. In particular, Fine Gael has taken the lead in the drive for greater military integration within the EU and co-operation with NATO.

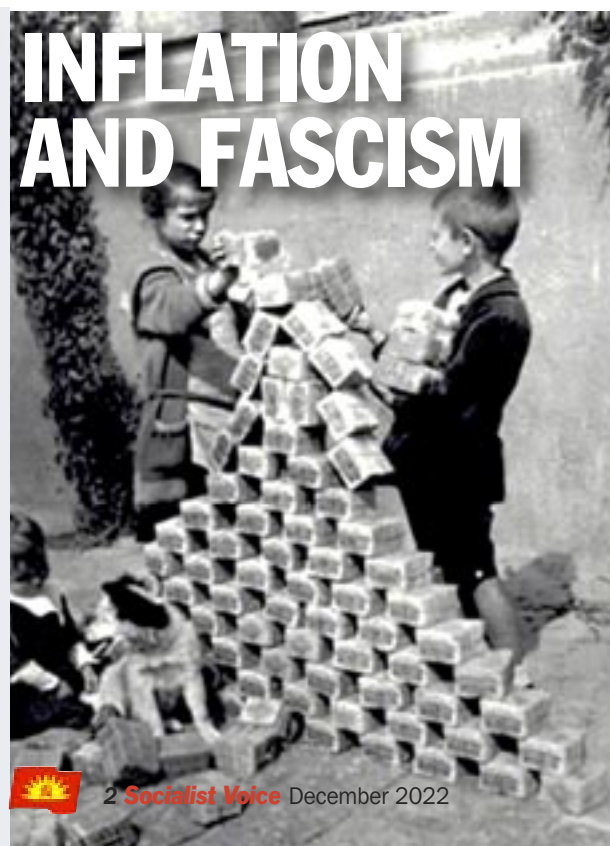
Over the course of the war in Ukraine the United States has

succeeded in bringing both Sweden and Finland into NATO and getting them to abandon their neutrality. The Irish establishment want to follow suit.

Varadkar, at the end of November, proposed that the “triple lock” should be amended. The triple lock means that Irish military personnel (more than twelve in number) can only be deployed overseas if mandated by the United Nations, the Irish government, and the Dáil. He wants to end that. Fine Gael will push for a simple decision of the Government and a majority in the Dáil.

With Varadkar becoming Taoiseach early in 2023, the pressure on neutrality will only intensify.

Most of those within the Dáil who call themselves left or progressive have shown very little appetite for challenging the EU-NATO military strategy in Ukraine.



SAJEEV KUMAR ECONOMY

INFLATION IS an increase in the price of goods and services. When the quantity of money in an economy exceeds the quantity of commodities it will cause “demand pull” inflation. When the cost of raw materials or an increase in wages causes price increases it is “cost push” inflation. The devaluation of a currency can also cause inflation.

The recent inflationary trend is mainly due to disruptions in energy supply resulting from the Ukraine war and Covid disruption in supply chains; but more than that it is capitalists’ unwillingness to reduce their profits.

The solution proposed by “economists” for controlling inflation is to increase interest rates, which will contain the quantity of money in the economy. People will buy less, and the economists assume that this will reduce inflation.

But when interest rates are high, investments also decrease, and the capitalists will produce less, and increase the price for whatever they produce.

Therefore the attempt to increase interest rates to reduce inflation could fail. It will only lead to recession, with the slowing down of production.

Why do the capitalists fear inflation, and who do they blame? Capitalists hate inflation because it destabilises the value of currency and reduces the value of their financial assets. The capitalists warn against unions demanding wage increases, saying it will trigger further inflation through a wage-price spiral.

Marx demolished this line of argument when replying to John Weston in *Value, Price and Profit*. Weston said that when workers get a pay increase the cost of labour is added to the cost of commodities, which ultimately the worker has to pay as a buyer of the commodities, and so they are back to

holds power: it is the capitalist class.

Unfortunately, there are none so blind as those who will not see; and the reality of who controls society is ignored by most of those who claim they wish to create a more equitable and sustainable society.

European social democrats have long been wedded to the idea of the neutrality of the capitalist state. They do not see it as an instrument of class rule; instead they believe bourgeois democracy and the “rule of law” to be the pinnacle of democracy. They are opposed to mass mobilisation by the working class in pursuit of their demands, preferring instead to concentrate on purely parliamentary politics. They would rather negotiate the limits of their proposed reforms with representatives of the capitalist class than mobilise the working class in

Two Irish members of the EU parliament, Clare Daly and Mick Wallace, who have taken a principled and courageous position regarding this war, have come under huge political attacks from the Irish establishment and from the European and Irish media.

Fianna Fáil have moved a long way from even mouthing support for neutrality, with now very little if any real differences between them and Fine Gael. The charge made by Mícheál Martin, that those who oppose the NATO proxy war in Ukraine are all “Putin’s puppets,” is laughable.

In relation to the Green Party, it appears that there is little if any substance within that party for defending neutrality, with their leader being far too much of a political opportunist to have any principled position, only offering

square one. The fact is that if the share of wages increases, the share of profits will decrease, and along with it the rate of profit also falls.

The capitalists are hiding the fact that price increases are caused by greed for profit and not by an increase in wages. There is no evidence that wage increases cause inflation, whereas it is evident that the profits of big businesses have gone up alongside inflation.

The solution the “economists” propose is to control inflation by creating unemployment: the creation of a reserve army of labour will make workers compete for lower wages in order to get employed. This puts downward pressure on wages. When the wages are reduced the input costs decrease, and so the prices are controlled at the expense of the working class, whose standard of living deteriorates.

Capitalism has to create a reserve army of labour in order to reduce wages,

support of their demands.

However, advancing the interests of the working class means eroding the power of the capitalist class; and any government that challenges capitalism, no matter how slightly, risks being derailed. If the capitalist class can move against a capitalist government, it stands to reason that it would move to crush an anti-capitalist movement.

Could it happen here? The present crisis of capitalism is creating increased hardship for the Irish working class. Real poverty is increasing, homelessness is at a record level, the health system, north and south, is in crisis. More and more people must choose between food, heat, and rent or mortgage

The capitalist system is destroying the environment. It has long outlived its usefulness to humanity and the world. Following the next election there is the

gung-ho support for NATO’s proxy war.

To those within society attempting to stir up hatred and division and who scream loudly about the number of Ukrainian refugees, there is one simple answer. We need to end this war, we need our government to de-escalate its support for this war. That will ensure that people do not have to leave their homes and come here.

This goes also for people from the many other war zones that imperialism—the European Union and the United States—are responsible for.

As the Communist Party of Ireland has pointed out for decades, the abandonment of neutrality was always part of the strategy of both the Irish ruling class and the European Union. The Irish government is now one of the most belligerent within the European Union,

which is an absolute necessity for the accumulation of capital, without which it cannot function.

Nowadays a different term is used to denote the reserve army of labour: the “non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment,” or NAIRU, which means the lowest unemployment rate that can be sustained without causing wage growth and inflation. The issue here is that the many are paying a price for the greed of a few.

These are conditions that create fertile grounds for the rise of fascism: when capitalism is in crisis and there is an aroused working class organising for better wages and against sackings and unemployment. Fascism has always been a brutal expression of the power of big capital in imposing class domination by force; when it cannot control by persuasion it uses coercion.

Capitalism preaches democracy and human rights but employs fascist

The dominant ideology in capitalist societies is that the state is neutral, and that the will of the people, as reflected in elections, determines who governs.

possibility that Sinn Féin may form a government on their own, or may lead a “left” coalition. If they are to deal with such issues as homelessness, poverty and precarious employment they will have to confront native capitalism and foreign imperialism, or else renege on their electoral promises.

If a progressive government is to confront capitalism it must go beyond bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class is only too willing to use extraparliamentary methods to protect their class interests.

The strength of the working class comes from its numbers and its crucial role in the production process. Even without a progressive government it is only by exerting its collective strength that the working class can become an actor on the stage of history and can set the political agenda.

As the Communist Party of Ireland has pointed out for decades, the abandonment of neutrality was always part of the strategy of both the Irish ruling class and the European Union.

allying itself actively with other reactionary governments in the Baltic states and Poland regarding NATO’s proxy war against Russia.

Irish peace forces now need to focus more urgently on the question of this state’s neutrality.

We need to oppose any change in the triple lock.

We need to build upon the public support for neutrality and have it enshrined in the constitution.

We need to be demanding a de-escalation strategy to be pursued by the Irish government regarding Ukraine.

What is needed is a peace strategy for demanding an immediate ceasefire, a UN-negotiated peace settlement to guarantee Ukraine’s territorial integrity, and a demilitarised and neutral Ukraine.

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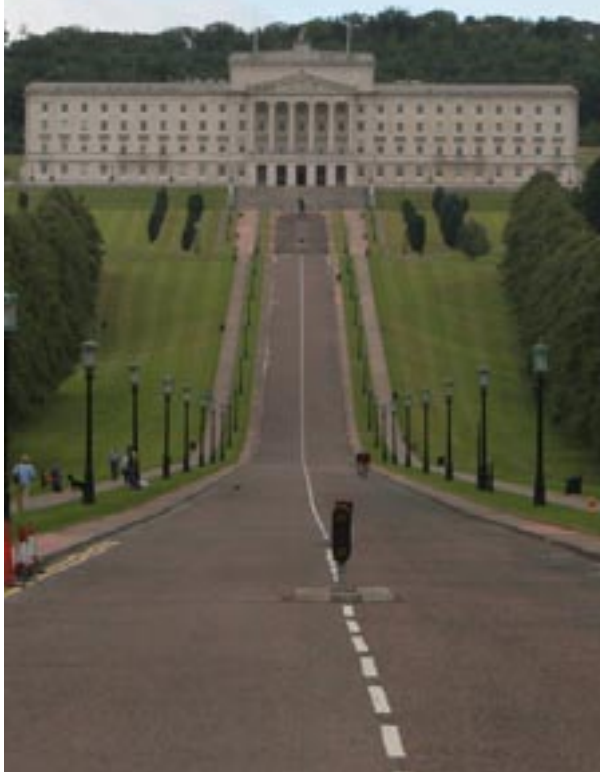
elements to subvert democracy and strangle human rights. It happened during the Great Depression of the 1930s, which produced the rise of Mussolini and Hitler. The Sturmabteilung or Brownshirts were the gangs used by Nazis, while Blackshirts were employed by Mussolini to terrorise organised workers.

The recent meeting of the National Party in Enniskillen should be seen with great concern. With workers rallying on the streets against the cost of living, these fascist gangs, who have the sanction of the ruling class, can be expected to do anything to terrorise their opponents and to ignite hatred against immigrants and divert attention from the real class enemy.

Only the united struggles of the working class can withstand fascism and tilt the balance of power in favour of the oppressed classes.



PARTITION RUNNING OUT OF ROAD



TOMMY MCKEARNEY NATION

THE CONTINUING stalemate in northern Irish politics is not simply due to the Brexit protocol or tendentious rumours of joint Dublin–London authority: the underlying cause of chronic political deadlock is the result of unionist anxiety.

There is a growing realisation throughout the region that the future of the Six-County state as a distinct political entity is in question. Consequently, practically every issue, regardless of how seemingly minor, is viewed through the constitutional lens. Fearful of conceding an inch, the DUP is unable and unwilling to participate in the normal give-and-take of parliamentary politics; hence the impasse.

Evidence of a heightened recognition of the North's fragility is even to be found in the words and actions of one of the most prominent unionist families, the Paisleys. Rev. Kyle Paisley, son of the late Ian, recently addressed the Seanad's public consultation committee. During his presentation he said that talk of a united Ireland is not as easily dismissed as it once was.

While that observation was significant, his brother Ian Junior made a still more telling contribution to the subject. Last month the fun-loving MP for North Antrim introduced, with the support of his party leader, a Referendums (Supermajority) Bill in the House of Commons. If enacted, this would ensure that significantly more than a 51 per cent majority would be

required to change the North's constitutional position. The fact that such a measure would be considered necessary by the DUP is surely a sign of diminishing confidence in the durability of Northern Ireland.

That partition and the union are at risk of running out of road is hardly surprising. Since its foundation, the northern Six Counties has ever been a dysfunctional political entity. Northern Irish unionism, though often refusing to recognise this reality, is in retreat. Over recent decades its one-time position of absolute power and authority has been steadily eroded—to such an extent that it is now facing the unwelcome spectacle of having a Sinn Féin politician positioned to claim the role of Northern Ireland's first minister.

If that wasn't enough, the recent census has delivered an ominous signal to supporters of the union. Although it is important not to fall into the trap of sectarian head-counting, demographics has always played an important part in unionist calculations. The changing population make-up will not of itself bring about an end to partition; however, the new composition has fragmented the old monolith and dissolved the certainty that had once locked the North into a political Ice Age.

Meanwhile the northern political entity is ruled over by a dysfunctional United Kingdom. The British state is now struggling to come to terms with the destructive failure of neoliberalism. Hardly a day goes by without another gloomy report on the state of its economy and wider social

PROBLEMS IN FARMING TODAY

This article is by a family farmer actively trying to bring people together in the Westmeath-Roscommon region. Socialist Voice welcomes contributions to this important and necessary debate.

ANTHONY MAGUIRE AGRICULTURE

THE TRUE ISSUE in farming today is the lack of awareness of the crisis they are now in. The Dutch farmers, alongside other farmers in Europe, have realised that what is going on is in fact a land grab by the elite, the idea being to make the lives of small and middle-scale farmers' business untenable by passing rigorous environmental laws that target the lower-income farmers and workers.

This was the challenge that Indian farmers faced, with the elite and the government trying to destroy their livelihood by means of taking over their holdings, in one of the longest resistance campaigns in decades. The

farmers, with great help from the Communist Party of India (Marxist), fought back, with massive demonstrations throughout the country, winning a great victory when the Indian government backed down.

With all this positive action going on around the world, the question is, Why isn't there similar action in Ireland? The answer is simply expressed in one word: apathy.

I have been to many environmental and forestry courses and meetings as well as farm organisation meetings. I have posed this question in all of them. Don't you realise the Government and the wealthy elite want your lands? Can't you see what is happening around the world with all the mass protests?



infrastructure. Last month the right-wing *Daily Telegraph* published an article claiming that “the NHS is failing Britain . . .” Shortly thereafter an OECD report drew attention to the fact that the British economy is lagging substantially behind other G7 and G20 countries.

Elsewhere, the *Financial Times* was informing its readers that current wage stagnation is the worst since 1820. Yes, 1820—one year after Peterloo. Moreover, Martin Wolf, the paper’s associate editor and chief economics commentator, has predicted huge reductions in living standards for the British people. Interestingly, albeit ominous perhaps for some, he ended the same article by arguing for a close and stable trading relationship with the EU¹—an outcome that would surely appeal to many in a struggling economy further shaken by the ill-judged intervention of Truss and Kwarteng.

Yet such an outcome would be incompatible with an acrimonious, unilateral shredding of the protocol—a reasonable analysis that can only add to unionist anxieties.

Taken together, the changing make-up of the population and a faltering British state have undermined unionist certainty. No longer able to rely on crude majoritarianism, it is now also losing the once-powerful “superior UK quality of life” argument.

As for the old Home Rule and Rome Rule chestnut—for all its faults, the Republic is not now in thrall to the Vatican, thereby diminishing the old stratagem of the Orange card

This new reality has also thrown up another worrying phenomenon for pro-union diehards: that of constitutional agnosticism—in other words, the Alliance Party types, people who for the

Their answer always was that the issue in Holland and throughout Europe is a nitrates issue, and not a land grab. On top of that they felt the Dutch farmers should not be supported because they broke the environmental laws.

I asked them if they had heard of the Indian farmers’ campaign; and the answer was No. I explained it to them, but there was the same reaction as the attitude to the Dutch problem.

Hence the problem that needs to be addressed. This is apathy and a lack of knowledge of the real situation, and taking misinformation as the gospel truth.

The lack of true understanding is scarcely believable in the present day and age, and the fact that they are willing to take any measures that are not in their own interests, without any questioning of why this is necessary. It

Since its foundation, the northern Six Counties has ever been a dysfunctional political entity. Northern Irish unionism, though often refusing to recognise this reality, is in retreat.

most part broadly favour the English connection but are prepared to be pragmatic and open to persuasion on the issue of partition.

Faced with this different dispensation, mainstream political unionism has proved itself incapable of adjustment. Unable to come to terms with the new order, it has retreated, adopting a form of siege strategy. The hope is that by creating a continuous crisis they can panic supporters into remaining within the fold, and this while hoping to simultaneously dissuade the Southern establishment from intervening in any meaningful way.

Under the current implementation of the Belfast Agreement, this strategy is capable of prolonging the deadlock. Its weakness, however, lies in the fact that it is purely negative and therefore vulnerable to an active challenge. There are several scenarios for how intervention might happen, but the most potent could come from London.

Whether Her Majesty’s Government would act in such a way is open to debate. At first there would be a widespread and understandable preference to let sleeping dogs lie. Then there would be opposition from hard-line, ultra-reactionary elements within the Conservative Party ideologically supportive of unionism.

Against this do-nothing policy will be pragmatic calculations of Britain’s self-interest. Can Britain afford a trade war with the European Union simply to appease the DUP? Would overturning the protocol create problems with the Biden government? How might negating international agreements be viewed by Britain’s allies in the Republic? Moreover, does continuous long-term stagnation in the North threaten political stability, or even peace?

On balance, it would appear that Britain wants to end the deadlock. The North’s secretary of state, Chris Heaton-Harris, has warned that he will implement savage budget cuts in the absence of a sitting Assembly. Coupled with a threat to introduce water charges, the intention may be to pressure Jeffrey Donaldson and colleagues. Add to this a recent leak from Westminster embarrassingly pointing out that the former DUP leader Edwin Poots sought to dilute the protocol in order to favour the North’s farming community.²

That much is public knowledge. What we don’t know is whether bribery or, alternatively, arm-twisting is happening behind the scenes. The St Andrews Agreement, for example, made it clear that were there to be no progress by a certain date the British and Irish governments would work together to implement a “plan B” over the heads of the Northern politicians.

Whether such a scenario is in the offing is impossible to tell. What we can say, though, is that how ever and when ever the present stalemate ends, it will lead to a further weakening of the union.

It is important that the left recognise this and begin to act accordingly, and act now. It is clear that conservative Ireland is already laying its plans for a post-partition Ireland. And we, the working class, certainly don’t need another century of Freestatory.

1 Martin Wolf, “No jam today and none tomorrow,” *Financial Times*, 18 November 2022.

2 Peter Foster and Jude Webber, “Top unionist tried to dilute NI protocol bill,” *Financial Times*, 26 November 2022.

Rural areas are fast becoming wastelands.

seems they do not care, are resigned to their fate.

However, as bad as it may look, it is important to save our rural industries. Rural areas are fast becoming wastelands. Now, this has been said before. The transnational corporations are destroying the bogs, exploiting every inch of turf for profit, then leaving the area completely run out and looking like a nuclear wasteland, before moving on.

The idea of the People’s Dáil, which unites the various protest groups into one, is the way to combat this exploitation and, hopefully, unite farmers’ groups as well. The idea of historical dialectics states that the strong, dominant force will swap places with the weaker element as time goes by.

So, with that in mind, it is important for people to form their own power bases, so that when the turn comes

they will be ready to assume the responsibility of rule.

The farmers are plagued with factionalism, with many different agricultural organisations. Unity is the answer; in fact that was what the ICMSA sheep chairperson called for at the minister for agriculture’s hustings sitting beside me. Yes, he is correct: farmers have to unite as one.

I believe the People’s Dáil could be the way forward, to be the means of at least getting them together at the local level. Let them thrash out an agenda and then go ahead and implement it.

It’s the only way forward. What is the alternative? A rural area that’s left a wasteland. The crisis affecting Irish farming and the rural areas is the most acute and dangerous in the long history of this country. It’s either sink separately or swim together for Irish agriculture.





CELEBRATING NINETY YEARS IN THE HEART OF DUBLIN

90 years of solidarity
90 years of fundraising
90 years backing progress
90 years of art and culture
90 years of local publishing
90 years supporting workers
90 years welcoming communists
90 years printing James Connolly

**A Connolly Books Anniversary
Evening with stories from guests Dr
Conor McCabe & Donal Fallon**

**19.00 Friday, 9 December
43 Essex Stree East, Temple Bar**

AARON NOLAN PARTY LITERATURE

SINCE THE 1930s, New Books and Connolly Books have been publishing the writings of James Connolly (1868–1916), Ireland’s Marxist pioneer and martyr. Thousands of people first encountered Connolly through the re-publication of his writings in pamphlet and book form by New Books, including *Labour in Irish History*, *Erin’s Hope* and the *New Evangel*, *The Reconquest of Ireland*, and *Labour, Nationality and Religion*.

In 1987 Connolly Books published for the first time the principal works of Connolly in two volumes, under the title *Collected Works*, which are still available in the shop today in their distinctive green cover. Indeed an updated version is due to come out in 2023, with an introduction by the outgoing general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, Eugene McCartan.

The culture and politics of 1930s Ireland were not receptive to socialist ideas. The Constitution (Amendment No. 17) Act—sometimes referred to as the Coercion Act—introduced in October 1923 by the Free State government of Cumann na nGaedheal, and enforced also by later Fianna Fáil governments, treated socialist policies as subversive. Under this act twelve left-wing organisations were declared illegal. Conservative politicians were determined to keep Ireland a conservative Catholic country.

High unemployment and all-pervasive poverty marked life for people in both urban and rural areas during the 1930s. Wage cuts of up to 10 per cent were imposed on many of the workers who did manage to find work. The trade union movement, to all intents and purposes, forgot the legacy of Connolly, and his works were slowly disappearing from public access.

It was in this environment that the first socialist bookshop in Dublin was opened, in Winetavern Street. It closed after a very short time, because of pressure from the Franciscan Fathers in nearby Merchants’ Quay.

In 1932 the Revolutionary Workers’ Group opened a socialist bookshop at 64 Great Strand Street, which they called Connolly House. James Larkin Junior was one of the leaders of the RWG and also an elected member of Dublin City Council. The group published the weekly news-sheet *Irish Workers’ Voice*.

On 27 March 1933 a Lenten sermon delivered in the Pro-Cathedral



AN IRISH WORKERS' BOOKSHOP!

Every worker in Dublin and throughout the country will be pleased to learn that an Irish Workers' Bookshop has now been opened in Dublin. With the strengthening of the Irish Workers' Movement, it is hoped to open similar Bookshops in the other centres throughout the country.

BOOKS,

PAMPHLETS, PERIODICALS

of real interest to all workers are on sale.

The Works of Connolly, Marx, Lenin, Engels, Mitchell, Tose are all in stock.

Send on your orders, or call at—

IRISH WORKERS' BOOKS,
Connolly House,
64 Great Strand Street,
DUBLIN.

NEW BOOKS

OUR Bookshop is open! At "New Books," 14 Backville Place, Dublin, readers of the "Irish Workers' Weekly" and all interested people can now obtain working class literature which it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain elsewhere. Never was the need for such literature greater, for never was there a time when it was so important for the people to understand what is happening to them, both in this country and in other lands.

We have pamphlets from left upwards; the latest "Special" bulletin of the British People's Convention, giving up-to-date news of that great movement; "World News and Views" (3d.)—the weekly paper which gives news which does not appear in the capitalist Press; explains and describes world events from the working-class standpoint. We have the basic works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, which lay bare the deep, underlying causes of these

Connolly Books is at 43 East Essex Street, off Parliament Street, Dublin, and is open from Tuesday to Saturday, 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

different points and for very different reasons.

This included the space becoming popular with lesbians in Dublin, who used to be able to dance with each other without question or concern. One could argue that this could have been because many of the other club-goers were too busy paying attention to who else was there to notice people enjoying themselves on the dance floor. However, the CPI has long had a progressive stance on queer politics, and LGBTQ people were welcomed openly. This was almost a full year before homosexuality was legalised in Ireland.

Club Sandino was forced to close its doors in September 1992 after a raid led to the confiscation of its stock of beer and whiskey.

The bookshop maintains its proud rebellious tradition today, continuing to show support and solidarity for progressive and revolutionary movements at home and abroad. The shop operates as a progressive, non-sectarian left-wing political hub, providing space for various left and progressive groups in which to meet, drop leaflets and stickers, or just pop in for a chat.

At the rear of Connolly Books is the 66-seat New Theatre. This is the same name as that of the theatre established by Connolly in Liberty Hall more than a hundred years ago. The theatre provides support and a platform for new writers and also hosts the annual James Connolly Festival.

Just like the shop, the theatre challenges social inequality and the class barriers with which the arts are fraught. It encourages an inclusive and collective approach to artistic expression, providing a space in which to celebrate the rich working-class culture that exists in an ever-evolving Ireland. The theatre provides a space for artists to express the wealth of their culture and articulate the experience of their life.

Connolly Books celebrates ninety years of existence with an event on Friday 9 December, from 7 p.m., followed by its annual Marxist book fair all day the following day, Saturday 10 December.

- Keep up to date through Connolly Books' social media platforms, @ConnollyBooks and the web site connollybooks.org.
- Connolly Books is at 43 East Essex Street, off Parliament Street, Dublin, and is open from Tuesday to Saturday, 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

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against the "dangers" of socialism led to a mob being formed and marching on the bookshop. They ransacked the building and set it on fire; three people who were in the building were lucky to escape with their lives.

After the burning of Connolly House it became difficult to secure premises for the sale of literature perceived as left-wing, and it was not until 1942 that Johnny Nolan and Geoffrey Palmer secured a new premises, at 16A Pearse Street. It was decided to make a public appeal for funds to establish the bookshop, and donations ranging from 2 pence to £10 were received. In this way £100 was raised to establish the shop, which was called New Books.

This shop lasted a little longer than Connolly House, though history repeated itself in 1956 when it too was attacked. During the 1960s it was the only bookshop in Dublin selling the writings of

Marx, Engels, and Connolly.

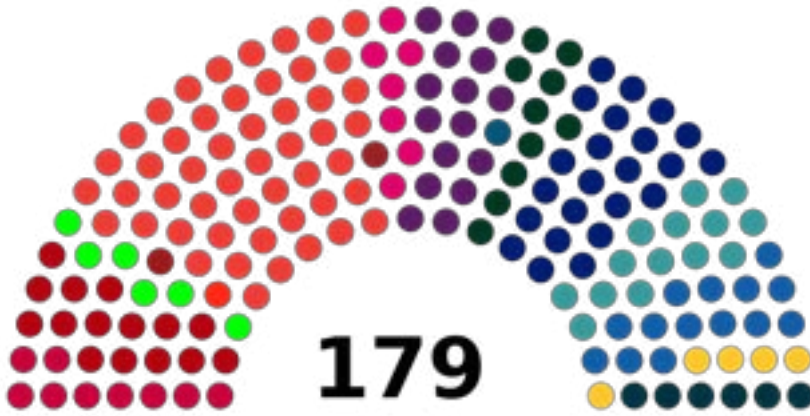
In 1971 the bookshop moved from Pearse Street to 14 Parliament Street, before moving in 1977 to 43 East Essex Street and in 1989 changing its name to Connolly Books. After a short period in temporary premises at 7 Bloom Lane, off Lower Ormond Quay, Connolly Books returned to the renovated Connolly House in Essex Street in February 2007.

The CPI's headquarters in East Essex Street was also used as a late-night drinking venue, Club Sandino, in the 1980s and 90s. This after-hours club raised money for supporting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the coffee brigades.

Stories told by the house DJs, visitors and CPI members remember Club Sandino as drawing a very mixed crowd. Special Branch men and left-wingers of various shades—and uneasy alliances—visited the premise at



THE LEFT IN DENMARK'S ELECTION



An assessment of how Denmark's three left-wing parties—the Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten), founded in 1989, the Alternative (Alternativet), founded in 2013, and the Independent Greens (Frie Gronne), founded in 2020—fared in the election of 1 November 2022.

MARY GRAHAM
DENMARK

IN BRIEF: The Red-Green Alliance¹ lost four mandates, winning 9 seats; the Alternative² gained 1 mandate, winning 6 seats; while the Independent Greens³ failed to win the minimum number of votes required to gain a seat in the Danish parliament (Folketinget), and are therefore out, for now.

The stated aim of the largest left-wing party in the Folketing, the

Red-Green Alliance, is to be a locally anchored workers' party, though most of its support is centred in major urban areas. The party lost ground in all constituencies this time round, receiving only 5.2 per cent of the poll, a decline of 1.7 percentage points. It now has only nine seats in parliament, a loss of four. Its losses in its traditional stronghold, Copenhagen, came as a surprise, while it has failed consistently to gain a foothold in the provinces.

Having had so much progressive influence on government policy over the past three to four years, as an ally of the Social Democratic government, the question being posed here is, Why has the Red-Green Alliance regressed to such a degree?

The party's chief strategist, Pelle Dragsted, believes that the Red-Green Alliance has done its utmost to bring class politics into this election campaign, concentrating, as it inevitably does, on the redistribution of wealth and equal pay, though he admits that it

can always be brought up for discussion whether enough emphasis was brought to bear on class issues.

The Red-Green Alliance's poorer-than-expected performance he blames in part on the Social Democrats usurping his party's more radical issues. "During the campaign," he said to *Arbejderen* (The Worker) on the 3rd of November, "we saw the Social Democrats appropriating several of our key issues, for example equal pay, increased pay for public sector workers, a cost ceiling on rented accommodation, and climate change action. This meant that several otherwise disgruntled social democratic voters ended up voting for them anyway."

Like others on the left, he believes that many voted tactically to ensure that the Alternative would get in. He does not believe, however, that voters "punished" the Red-Green Alliance for changing its position on NATO and the EU, or for supporting continuing parliamentary initiatives for sending military aid to Ukraine. Many on the left disagree strongly with his analysis here.

"The world changed very quickly when Russia attacked Ukraine," says Dragsted. "We had to face the issue of whether we were still in favour of withdrawing from NATO. This led to a crisis within the Red-Green Alliance. Finally, we announced that a withdrawal from NATO would not be appropriate at this time. Some of our voter groups may be against NATO, but I find it difficult to see an alternative to NATO in the current security policy climate."

The Red-Green Alliance's poorer-than-expected performance he blames in part on the Social Democrats usurping his party's more radical issues.

WRONGFUL IMPRISONMENT OF AN IRISH C

MICK HEALY
JUSTICE

IN NOVEMBER 2022 it was fifty years since the wrongful imprisonment of Noel Jenkinson, an Irish communist sentenced to life imprisonment, with little or no evidence against him other than his left-wing political beliefs.

The charge against him was the Official IRA bomb explosion at the headquarters of the British Parachute Regiment in

Aldershot on 22 February 1972. The prosecution did not prove that Noel had ever been in Aldershot: Judge Sebag Shaw said they did not need to.

Noel Jenkinson was born on 22 December 1929 into a comfortable background in Loughcrew, Co. Meath. Like many of his generation in the 1950s, he emigrated to London in search of employment, where he became active in the trade union

movement while working with London Transport. In 1964 he was elected as secretary and shop steward of the Highgate Branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

As well as his membership of the TGWU he was a long-time member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Despite misgivings, Noel resigned from the party in 1963 after he was disciplined for speaking on a platform in



However, it is not just opposition to NATO on which the Red-Green Alliance has changed its position. The same applies to its EU policy. In May 2022 it adopted a new EU programme, which dilutes its demand for Denmark's withdrawal, to concentrate instead on support for policies designed to make the EU red and green.

Gains for the other left-wing parties

While the Red-Green Alliance lost votes in its main base, Copenhagen, the Alternative advanced three percentage points there since the last election, and the Independent Greens gained 2.2 per cent in the capital. This would indicate a move away from the Red-Green Alliance towards the other two left-wing parties.

The Independent Greens, running for the first time, are proud of their result, though they did not reach the threshold demanded to gain seats in the Folketing. "This is our first election . . . and we did succeed in mobilising voters in outlying [i.e. working-class] residential districts. Therefore this is not the end for the Independent Greens but the beginning. Everyone remembers how long it took the Red-Green Alliance to establish itself. So we are in high spirits . . ." So said the party's leader, Sikandar Siddique, to *Arbejderen* on 3 November 2022.

31,000 voters chose to vote for a party that went to the polls with some relatively far-reaching campaign proposals, such as reintroducing the wealth tax and redistributing state finances to the poorest in society. The Independent Greens would also introduce a 25-hour working week, do away with parts of private property rights, and nationalise all land.

A large proportion of the Independent Greens' potential voters are not Danish citizens, and therefore not entitled to vote. According to

Statistics Denmark, there are almost 500,000 such foreign citizens in the country.

Winning 3.3 per cent of the poll, the Alternative gained an extra seat in parliament—increasing from five to six. "We succeeded in campaigning the climate into the election and bringing together several small green parties—the Vegan Party and the Green Party," says Torsten Gejl, MP for the Alternative, to *Arbejderen*.

There are considerable regional differences in where the Alternative gets its votes. The party enjoys sizable support in the cities, such as Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, and Skanderborg, where progressively minded people live. But, unlike the Red-Green Alliance, it appeals as well to people in rural areas, particularly those involved in organic and alternative methods of agriculture.

Where to now?

All three parties on the left—all of which were allies of the outgoing Social Democratic government—hope that the Social Democrats will go ahead and form the red-green government for which it has a clear mandate, instead of going ahead with its coalition-across-the-aisles plans. The Red-Green Alliance has already accused the Social Democrats of "breach of promise" for continuing to discuss the basis of the new government with right-wing parties, fearing that the gains made by the last government on welfare, workers' rights and climate action will be threatened by any alliance with the Liberals and Conservatives.

Sources for this article include the Danish left-wing magazine *Arbejderen*, the weekly *Weekendavisen*, and the various web sites of the parties involved.

31,000 voters chose to vote for a party that went to the polls with some relatively far-reaching campaign proposals, such as reintroducing the wealth tax and redistributing state finances to the poorest in society.

1 The Red-Green Alliance was founded in 1989 with the merger of three Marxist parties: the Communist Party of Denmark (DKP), Left Socialists (VS), and the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP). Until 2011 the Red-Green Alliance experienced only limited success in parliamentary elections, and support from voters fluctuated. In the 1990 general election the party, polling only 1.7 per cent, failed to reach the threshold needed to gain a parliamentary seat. In the 1994 general election it won 6 seats. In both 1998 and 2001 the party lost a mandate. In 2005 it once again won 6 seats but lost two of them in the 2007 election. In 2011, helped by media attention, it increased the number of its MPs from 4 to 12, polling highest in working-class areas. By the general election of 2015 the Red-Green Alliance was the largest party in the Nørrebro and Vesterbro districts of Copenhagen. Nationally the party gained 2 seats, winning 14. In the 2019 general election the party lost one seat, winning 13. And now, in 2022, it has won only 9 seats in the Folketing. The membership of the Red-Green Alliance in 2022 is 9,662.

2 The Alternative first entered parliament after the 2015 general election, storming in with nine seats. However, in the June 2019 election the party lost four of these seats. Shortly after this election setback its then leader, Uffe Elbæk, together with two other Alternative MPs, resigned to found the Independent Greens.

3 The Independent Greens were founded in 2020 and until the 2022 general election had two members of parliament, Sikandar Siddique and Susanne Zimmer, both of whom were elected in 2019 when they were members for the Alternative.

COMMUNIST

support of the Cuban Revolution. He later became involved with the breakaway Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity. What's more, when the North of Ireland erupted in 1969 Noel joined the Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign in London and became its chairperson.

Following the Aldershot explosion the police carried out raids on Irish political activists around London. Noel was

arrested after a receipt from an Aldershot shop was found in his home during a search. At the committal hearing it was revealed that the receipt belonged to Detective Chief Inspector Smith, who accidentally lost it.

Judge Sebag Shaw made constant interjections during the examination of the defendant, questioning him about his support for communism, how many times he had visited communist Cuba,

and what his views were on capitalism. This took place before a jury in Winchester Crown Court, a staunchly conservative city.

The judge passed a life sentence, with a recommendation that he spend at least thirty years in prison.

Four years later, on 9 October 1976, Noel Jenkinson died though medical neglect at Leicester Prison. He was laid to rest at Deansgrange Cemetery, Co. Dublin.



SEEING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CUBAN



LAURA DUGGAN SOCIALISM

LAST MONTH the 22nd International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Havana. During the week, exchanges were made between 73 different communist and workers' parties from 53 countries and a unified plan of action and resolution were agreed, including a unanimous call to action against and condemnation of the continued US blockade of Cuba.

Along with participation in this important meeting, delegates were given the opportunity to see the work of the Communist Party of Cuba in the

flesh, with visits to the Centro Fidel Castro Ruz and the Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, as well as some communities in Havana where the front-line work of the party is happening.

One of the areas where the Cuban government has been doing much work is returning to the "forgotten" parts of Havana. These are areas that have poorer-quality, older or temporary housing being used past its life span, or that have been damaged or are at risk of damage during the hurricane season. These areas often house unregistered populations that have moved in from the countryside and, because of the economic pressures



TROUBLE FOR TECH CAPITALISM



MIRANDA LYNCH TECHNOLOGY

LAST MONTH the social media giants Twitter and Meta (Facebook) announced widespread layoffs. They join Coinbase, which fired 18 per cent of its staff in June, part of a trend of technology companies freezing the hiring or sacking of employees.

The technology industry is in dire straits. However, these problems are not confined to one sector but rather are problems inherent in the capitalist system.

The technology sector is an industry based on unsustainable

growth. Meta is a good example of this. Despite 3.7 billion people already using one of their products in 2021, and earning more than \$100 billion,¹ there was an expectation of even more growth. When this could not be achieved, activist investors pressured the company into layoffs. Capital is not content with making some money, or even a large amount of money: it has to have all the money, at the expense of workers.

For Irish people this is all too familiar. During the 2000s the Irish financial and property sector increased exponentially, until it didn't any more, resulting in the 2008 recession. This

N REVOLUTION

Far Left: Cuba is moving forward amid the complex economic and material limitations and destabilising attempts without stopping its national health system, with priority on prevention, medical care, and rehabilitation.

Left: The former Convent of Santa Clara of Assisi, the Cuban capital's largest and oldest, is undergoing an extensive restoration and preservation project that will see that complex transformed into a school of restoration arts.

Far Left: Cuba's pioneering anti-viral drugs

Pictures:
Prensa Latina

brought with unexpected migration, experience higher levels of deprivation and have become a hub for vulnerable populations.

These areas in particular have been earmarked for regeneration and development—but not as we know it. “Regeneration,” as we experience it here in Ireland with the development of unaffordable luxury accommodation and the destruction of communities, is an alien approach in Cuba. For areas like La Timba it means investment in housing for the people who already live there and the improving of public utilities and services, such as schools, together with an impressive array of social work and services as well.

The gains of the Cuban health system have been covered in these pages many times; but vaccine treatment and development or their truly internationalist approach are not the only impressive features of this system. Social workers have been despatched en masse to these areas to assist in regularising people's status, taking census, and, with community discussion, making note of what services are needed for each population group as well as ensuring that all those in need of social support, welfare payments etc. are receiving them.

Along with this very practical work one of the aims of this regeneration project is combating social isolation. The emphasis on this is part of the Cuban approach to health care—a

multidisciplinary approach where a pinch of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Multiple studies have shown that loneliness and social isolation are associated with a higher risk of health problems, such as heart disease, depression, and cognitive decline, as well as showing that people who are already ill, have a disability or are older are more likely to be socially isolated.

In tandem with the introduction and development of local health centres and community-centred primary care, it is seen as just as important with this understanding to also introduce and develop community social centres, where residents can connect with community outreach schemes, such as crafting classes, community clean-up groups, and the organising of street parties, as well being a place where people can come to get advice, resources and information on what social support they can obtain, a space in which to voice their concerns, speak to local representatives, and have a sense of collective ownership, responsibility and engagement in their area.

Another small part of this programme is the use of local small canteens where the elderly, the ill or those simply living alone can eat communally. For a tiny charge, people can get a hearty meal and the opportunity to eat with others in a

relaxed and friendly environment several times a day.

Issues in the same areas with anti-social behaviour have been handled in a similar manner. For example, in La Timba a local skate park was opened that the community themselves, including those who were the intended users of the amenity—children and teenagers—helped to develop, design, decorate, and maintain.

Community consultation and input is the backbone of the success of the revolution in Cuba. It has built trust that the people and their needs are taken seriously by the government. Citizens' involvement is sought and valued at every level of government, local and national, from the building of a skate park to the huge democratic project that was the drafting and introduction of the Family Code.

Even in the face of the continued horrendous blockade, Cuba continues to display a humanity and a social consciousness that is often absent, if not alien, in capitalist countries. Cuba isn't perfect—it is at best idealism and at worst sabotage to think so—but Cuba is better than that, because instead of it being some fictional utopia it is a real country, with real people, implementing socialism and striving to be better.

It is our responsibility not only to defend the gains they have made but to do all we can to replicate them wherever we are.

Left: The new AITO 'Adding Intelligence to Auto' M5 vehicle uses Huawei DriveONE and HarmonyOS software

Picture: Huawei

boom-and-bust cycle is inherent in capitalism, and ends with the working class paying the price, with the rich who benefited from the boom often able to keep the fortunes they made.

Capitalism also has an ownership problem. Twitter's success is the result of its employees, and of the millions of people creating content for it. However, Elon Musk is legally the sole owner of the company, simply because he paid a lot of money for it. Without the workers and the people who use it a social media platform is nothing; yet we don't get any say in the direction it takes. The contradiction is now laid bare before our eyes: employees and active users are leaving in droves, and the platform is in chaos.

Alternatives exist, even within the sector. The Chinese technology giant

Huawei is owned fully by current and retired workers. While their structure isn't perfect, as not all workers benefit from the scheme, the company paid out almost \$10 billion to its workers in 2021.² Cuba has the state-owned telecommunications company Cubacel, and bio-technology companies that use a social ownership model.³

The tech industry has shown itself to contain the ugliest sides of capitalism. The conversation from the left has concentrated on tech workers protecting themselves by organising in unions. While this is a positive development, we need a broader discussion about work-place democracy and ownership. During the pandemic it has become clear that social media and on-line commerce serve as vital infrastructure, enabling people to

communicate and shop in isolation. To protect important technology from the whims of megalomaniac men and pressures from capital to make only short-term gains, technology companies need to be controlled by their workers or the public at large.

Sources

- 1 Meta earnings reports (<https://investor.fb.com/investor-events/>).
- 2 Reuters, “Huawei pays out \$9.65 billion in dividends to current and retired staff,” 5 April 2022 ([tinyurl.com/y46395h4](https://www.reuters.com/technology/huawei-pays-out-965-billion-in-dividends-to-current-and-retired-staff-2022-04-05/)).
- 3 Ernesto López Mola et al., “Development of Cuban biotechnology,” *Journal of Commercial Biotechnology*, vol. 9, no. 2 (January 2003) ([tinyurl.com/27kueccm](https://www.jcbt.com/27kueccm)).



WRITERS SALUTE THE LEGACY OF TOMÁS MAC SÍOMÓIN



LITERATURE

TRIBUTE WAS paid to the life and work of the late comrade and writer Tomás Mac Síomóin at a commemorative event organised by Aontas na Scríbhneoirí in conjunction with the IMRAM festival in the Writers' Centre, Dublin, last month.

The evening was themed "File agus Fear Conspóide / Poet and Passionate Polemicist." Different

aspects of Tomás's work were discussed, and extracts of his poetry and prose were read. Presentations were made by the poet and broadcaster Mícheál Ó hUanacháin, Prof. Máirín Nic Eoin, the poet and playwright Celia de Fréine, and Dr Éamon Ó Cíosáin. Mícheál Mac Aonghusa spoke about the politics of Tomás Mac Síomóin. The event was hosted by the writer and broadcaster Cathal Póirtéir. An appropriate mixture of Irish and Spanish music was provided by Cormac Breatnach and Martin Dunlea.

Éistimis le glór Thomáis

Caint a thug Mícheál Mac Aonghusa ag an ócáid chomórtha a d'eagraigh Aontas na Scríbhneoirí

Is nós é sa tír seo ardmholadh a thabhairt don té atá ar lár. Is annamh a dhéanaimid amhlaidh le duine agus é ina bheatha. Faoi mar a tharla, sa chás seo rinne Aontas na Scríbhneoirí ceiliúradh ar shaothar Thomáis breis agus deich mbliain ó shin agus Tomás féin i láthair. Oíche mhór ina shaol a bhí ansin, agus is cuimhin le go leor anseo é ag canadh agus ag damhsa lena linn.

B'in gné de phearsantacht Thomáis nár aithin cuid mhór dá lucht léite agus a raibh lucht a cháinte dall uirthi. Sin an chuimhne

is mó ar Thomás atá beo i gcónaí i mBaile Formaid, faoi mar a dheimhneoidh ionadaithe ón bpobal sin atá i láthair anseo anocht.

Iarradh orm cúpla focal a rá faoi pholaitíocht Thomáis. Ba as a thuiscint ar an saol agus an sochaí a d'eascair na síolta a tháinig chun blátha ina shaothar cruthaitheach.

Smaointeoir agus gníomhaí polaitiúil a bhí ann óna óige, ar bhealach amháin nó eile. Poblachtach go smior a bhí ann ar feadh a shaoil, ar theastaigh uaidh Éire a bheith neamhspleách agus saor ó thriantán impiriúil London, Washington agus na Bruiséile agus nach mbeadh glacadh inti le meon an choilíneachais a ghéill, agus a ghéilleann, do thréigint na Gaeilge.

Thuig sé de réir a chéile gur dhúshlán domhanda a bhí san impiriúlachas agus go raibh sé riachtanach an pláinéad ar fad a shaoradh ón ualach sin, an sciúirse is mó i stair an chine dhaonna.

Chrom sé ar litríocht an Mharxachais a scrúdú, idir na saothair chlasaiceacha agus an scríbhneoireacht chomhaimseartha. Níor bhreathnaigh sé ar aon leabhar ansin mar shliocht ó Bhíobla ná ar aon scríbhneoir sa traidisiún sin, beo nó marbh, mar shoiscéalaí do-earráideach. Agus, ar ndóigh, níor theorannaigh sé a chuid staidéir ar an bpolaitíocht do raon údar a

THE STATE HAS FAILED THE HOMELESS

CLOVER CARROLL HOUSING

AS WE APPROACH the middle of winter the number of homeless people in Ireland climbs above 10,000, more than 3,000 of whom are children. The number of homeless people has grown by 2,593 since august 2021 and by 237 since July this year.

In whose interest is it to keep so many people in homelessness? With the majority of landlords in the Dáil being in Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, profiting from rising rents and lack of housing, we can see that it is in the interests of the state to keep a number

of people homeless. By having a homeless population, landlords can point and say, "If you don't pay your rent, that's where you'll end up."

With rents going up, and a minimum-wage job unable to keep up with the rising costs, young people are particularly affected, with nearly 4,500 people under twenty-four homeless. The real number is surely higher, with invisible homelessness being uncouncted, such as those who "couchsurf" (obtain temporary accommodation in other people's homes).

The state, instead of building housing for the people, has sold off public land to vulture funds for

overpriced housing developments and evicted people from squats, under the pretence that they are to be used for the exact thing those people are evicted for.

James Connolly House, set up by the Revolutionary Housing League, is one example. Eighty armed gardaí raided 12-14 Eden Quay, Dublin, with the claim that the building was to be used for Ukrainian refugees. However, since then it has remained empty.

A more recent action carried out by the state was another reclamation of a dormant building in School Street. Gardaí evicted those who were accommodated in the building, which was only two people at the time. They

Ba dhearmad an-mhór é a cheapadh go raibh Tomás an scríbhneoir ann agus Tomás an trotaire polaitiúil. Ní raibh ach Síomóineach amháin ann: an scríbhneoir cruthaitheach, an trotaire polaitiúil, an gníomhaí teanga, an t-iriseoir, agus an t-eolaí . . .

mbeadh sé ag aontú go hiomlán leo. Ní raibh aon fhoighid aige leis na neamh-Mharxaigh a shíl gur thosaigh an stair i 1789 nó in 1848. B'fhuath leis freisin meon an chinnteachais, an dearcadh neamh-Mharxach a chreid go dtiocfadh réabhlóid luath nó mall fad is a thitfeadh tosca áirithe isteach le chéile. Thuig sé nach dtiocfadh athrú bunúsach chun feabhais sa tsochaí gan oibriú ina threo agus troid a chur suas fána choinne.

Chuaigh sé isteach i bPáirtí Cumannach na hÉireann sna luath-1980í agus bhí sé thar a bheith gníomhach ansin go dtí go ndeachaigh sé chun cónaithe sa Chatalóin i 1997. Ní ball oscailte a bhí ann sna blianta tosaigh, ar chúiseanna fostaíochta, agus ba é an nom de guerre a d'úsáideadh sé "Seoirse Mac Thomáis." Ar feadh tamall de bhlianta bhí sé ar Ardchomhairle an pháirtí agus léirigh sé ansin an mianach a bhí ann maidir le hanailís pholaitiúil, mianach a bhí de dhíth go mór i ngéarchéim na 1990í. Bhí antionchar aige ar straitéis agus gníomhaíocht an pháirtí sna blianta sin, agus níos leithne ná an páirtí, i bhfeachtais éagsúla.

Beidh cuimhne ag daoine anseo ar an gcumas chun eagrúithe a bhí ann le linn an fheachtais um Theilifís Ghaeilge. Chuir sé an iarracht chéanna isteach i bhfeachtais pholaitiúla. D'aistrigh sé an Forógra Cumannach go Gaeilge. Rinne sé ionadaíocht ar son an pháirtí ag an-chuid cruinnithe thar lear agus d'fhan sé i dteagmháil le han-chuid comrádaithe a ndearna sé cairdeas leo ag na tionóil sin.

Sna 1980í déanacha chaith sé trí

seachtaine i Scoil Lenin i Moscó agus d'aithin sé go raibh ceannasaíocht Aontas na Sóivéide ag loic ar an sóisialachas agus nárbh fhada go ngéillfidís don chaipitleachas. Scríobh sé go rialta don *Socialist Voice*, agus lean sé leis sin agus é ina chónaí sa Chatalóin nó le linn na dtréimhsí a chaith sé i gCúba.

Níorbh fhada agus é sa Chatalóin gur thiontaigh an tírghráthóir Éireannach ina tírghráthóir Catalónach. Bhain sé líofacht amach i labhairt agus scríobh na Catalóinise go han-tapa agus thagraíodh sé do na Catalónaigh sa chéad phearsa. Ghlac sé páirt i bhfeachtais pholaitiúla ansin agus ba léir an grinneolas a bhí aige ar chúrsaí na Catalóine agus na Spáinne ó na tuairiscí nuachta a thugadh sé ar Raidió na Gaeltachta. Ní raibh sé lánsásta le príomhpháirtithe an neamhspleáchais sa Chatalóin, go háirithe maidir lena soineantacht faoin Aontas Eorpach. Ach in ainneoin a dhílseacht don Chatalóin ba í an Ghaeilge i gcónaí a phríomh-mheán scríbhneoireachta.

Bhí sé an-tugtha do Chúba freisin agus do gach a bhain leis. Chaith sé roinnt tréimhsí fada ansin, agus bhí sé i láthair ag cuid de na cruinnithe áitiúla ag an bPáirtí Cumannach sa tír sin. Bhí ardmheas aige ar an gcaoi ar láimhseáil muintir Chúba an Ré Speisialta i dTráth Síochána, mar a tugadh uirthi. Chuir sé comhairle ar rialtas Chúba maidir le gnéithe de chúrsaí talmhaíochta. Ná déanaimis dearmad gur bhith-eolaí a bhí ann. Léachtóireacht san ábhar sin an post lae a bhí aige an chuid is mó dá shaol oibre.

Ní féidir gan an ceangal a bhí aige le hAlbain, tír mháthair a chlainne, a luadh. Bhí dlúthchairdeas aige leis an bhfile Marxach Somhairle Mac Gill-Eain. Chuir sé as go mór dó nár vótáil tromlach na nAlbanach ar son neamhspleáchais i 2016 agus chuir sé an-olc air mar a ghéill eite chlé Shasana don seobhaineachas sa ghleic sin.

Bhí Tomás i bhfad chun tosaigh maidir le tuiscint ar an athrú aeráide agus an phráinn a bhí le gníomhaíocht len é a shrianú. Bhíodh sé ag caint air sin tríocha bliain ó shin. Rud eile a bhí ag déanamh tinnis dó modhnú barraí agus glasraí. Dar leis, bhí sé sin ina chontúirt mhór fhadtearmach do bhíarím agus sláinte an chine dhaonna. Ábhar eile a bhí chun tosaigh ina chuid scríbhneoireachta an cúngú mór a bhí tagtha ar shaoirse chainte agus tuairimíochta i gcríocha an nua-liobrálachais. Gné eile den saol a bhí ag cur as dó ab ea na himpleachtaí a bhain le forás na hintleachta saorga.

Ba dhearmad an-mhór é a cheapadh go raibh Tomás an scríbhneoir ann agus Tomás an trotaire polaitiúil. Ní raibh ach Síomóineach amháin ann: an scríbhneoir cruthaitheach, an trotaire polaitiúil, an gníomhaí teanga, an t-iriseoir agus an t-eolaí, iad uile in aon cholainn amháin agus in aon intinn amháin. Bhí siad ar fad faoi réir an mheoin, na réasúnaíochta, na fealsúnachta agus na hidé-eolaíochta céanna.

Tá an cholainn imithe uainn ach maireann glór Thomáis. Éistimis leis, agus go n-éiste glúnta atá le teacht leis!

With rents going up, and a minimum-wage job unable to keep up with the rising costs, young people are particularly affected, with nearly 4,500 people under twenty-four homeless.

had no lawful right to do this.

Those homeless who would seek shelter with the Revolutionary Housing League took up residence in Anne Devlin Park with tents. The Gardaí were quick to begin harassing those who did so, and even arrested and beat one homeless man. Those who did take up residence in the park are now afraid to return.

Building public housing, and housing those who are homeless, is how we will end the homelessness crisis. Building houses takes time, and we need available facilities for those who do not have regular access. While building public architecture, the state takes homeless people into account. Benches are given an extra bar in the middle to stop people lying on them, and seats at bus stops are more

uncomfortable to sit on than standing.

However, it's not just the state that takes the homeless population into account. Restaurants, pubs and cafés often require you to be a customer to use toilet facilities, while some go so far as to put pass-code locks on the doors. With a lack of publicly available facilities, especially for homeless women and those who are homeless with children, people are being pushed into having to pay for those facilities. Homeless women in particular need access to hygiene products, which are already overpriced.

Women who are homeless have often escaped domestic abuse. Past experiences such as domestic abuse can cause women to feel uncomfortable or threatened by men while in homeless shelters.

As winter deepens, those evicted from houses set up by the Revolutionary Housing League and from parks will feel the colder months the most. These people are cold and hungry but are treated as filth that needs to be swept into a corner, out of sight, out of mind.

The state has failed to provide for its people. We need a revolutionary change. The movements to bring about this change have started, and the state will do everything within its power to stop them.

RESOURCES USED

<https://homelessnessireland.ie/personal-stories/>
<http://www.goodshepherdork.ie/homeless-women-and-children/>





MODERN McCARTHYISM AND ANTI-PALESTINIAN RACISM

▲ *Seven Jewish Children* playing at The Royal Court Theatre in London

JENNY FARRELL

IN AN OPEN LETTER, 170 British artists reacted angrily to the withdrawal of the European Drama Prize from Caryl Churchill:

We are appalled that the Lifetime Achievement Prize awarded to playwright Caryl Churchill for the European Drama Prize 2022 has been rescinded by the jury of the Schauspiel Stuttgart, on the grounds that Churchill supports the nonviolent Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel's system of apartheid . . . This attack on freedom of conscience is nothing less than modern-day McCarthyism, and raises urgent questions about a pattern of intimidation and silencing in Germany, and beyond . . . The repression and silencing we are witnessing suggest deep seated anti-Palestinian racism, and call into question the integrity and independence of cultural institutions . . . If the only forms of art deemed "safe" for institutions are those that have nothing to say to the dispossessed and oppressed of this earth and that are silent in the face of state-sanctioned repression, then art and culture are emptied of meaning and value.¹

In its statement, the jury had justified the withdrawal of the award not only because of Churchill's support for BDS but also with her play *Seven Jewish Children: A Play for Gaza*. She wrote this short text in 2009 after Israel's attack on Gaza, in which, according to Amnesty, "1,400 Palestinians had been killed, including some 300 children and hundreds of other unarmoured civilians, and large areas of Gaza had been razed to the ground."²

What is this formally unconventional play about,

which reads like a poem in free verse? In seven sections of various length one hears the voices of adults advising what may and may not be said to a young daughter.

These answers to a child's unheard questions are reminiscent of the question-and-answer ritual of the Passover ritual, in which the founding myth of the Jews is passed on to new generations. An ironic arc is created here between this, the persecution of the Jews during the Shoah, and the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland. An additional founding myth is written.

Almost all sentences in the play begin with "Tell her" or "Don't tell her." Seven sections illuminate the period from the Shoah to the present. The audience quickly grasps which historical situation is referred to. The first section begins: "Tell her it's a game | Tell her it's serious | But don't frighten her | Don't tell her they'll kill her." These lines speak of the utmost tender concern for the child's psychological as well as physical well-being during fascism.

After the Shoah the concern moves to how to tell the child what happened: "Tell her this is a photograph of her grandmother, her uncles and me | Tell her her uncles died | Don't tell her they were killed | Tell her they were killed | Don't frighten her."

The third section deals with moving to (unnamed) pre-state Israel: "Tell her it's sunny there | Tell her we're going home | Tell her it's the land God gave us."

The fourth section moves on to the expulsion of the (unnamed) Palestinians: "Don't tell her home, not home, tell her they're going away | Don't tell her they don't like her | Tell her to be careful. | Don't tell her who used to live in this house."



While an uncertain tone prevails in these first four sections, in the very short fifth section there is a new tone, a change in attitude even to the story being told (or not told): the invasion of Gaza: “Tell her we won | Tell her her brother’s a hero | Tell her how big their armies are | Tell her we turned them back | Tell her we’re fighters | Tell her we’ve got new land.”

Greater awareness of an injustice returns in the sixth section. Here at first the “Don’t tell her” sentences—about water, bulldozers (destruction), olive trees, a boy shot dead—dominate, which also express increasing violence against the Palestinians. The “Tell her” sentences of the second half of this section deepen the lies the child is served as her identity: “Tell her we’re stronger | Tell her we’re entitled | Tell her they don’t understand anything except violence | Tell her we want peace | Tell her we’re going swimming.”

The seventh and final section is the longest and surprises us with its transition from free verse to prose, after the expression of doubts as well as fears, for the first time even of passive resistance to militant Zionist positions: “Don’t tell her her cousin refused to serve in the army. | Don’t tell her how many of them have been killed . . . Tell her we’re the iron fist now, tell her it’s the fog of war, tell her we won’t stop killing them till we’re safe, tell her I laughed when I saw the dead policemen, tell her they’re animals living in rubble now, tell her I wouldn’t care if we wiped them out.”

Here the dehumanising of the adult voices and the destruction of the child’s innocence reach their climax. This is somewhat relativised in the last three lines of the play: “Don’t tell her that. | Tell her we love her. | Don’t frighten her.”

Frightened of the adults? The very fact that the girl is asking these questions—and that she has a cousin whose doubts have survived into adulthood—is encouraging. There is hope.

This play, written by Churchill on the occasion of one of the most notorious Israeli attacks on Gaza, is of course not limited to Israel but can be applied to all situations in which parents (or the state, or the state media), aggressors, warmongers, colonisers, enslavers, create a narrative for their children or their people, conceal and transfigure, invent a new story. What is reported? What are you allowed to think, to say? How is history, how is a legend written? Why is the truth so unbearable? Even for the oppressors, who know the truth?

By concealing realities, by not learning from history, oppression and cruelty are born again and again.

In the middle of the sixth section a voice says, “Don’t tell her anything.” The withdrawal of the European Drama Prize to Caryl Churchill is one such effort.

■ Caryl Churchill released *Seven Jewish Children* as a free download and with free performance rights, with the request that collections be made for the people of Gaza and that the proceeds go to Medical Aid for Palestine.³

¹ The full text of the open letter is available at <https://tinyurl.com/4rbe8jm8>.

² <https://tinyurl.com/2d4j75v5>.

³ <https://tinyurl.com/2d5zafb5>.



THREE TANKA BY A RADICAL AMERICAN WRITER

Three bilingual tanka (5-7-5-7-7 syllables) by Gabriel Rosenstock

“**Kerouac 1**” was written in response to a seldom-cited socialist manifesto by Jack Kerouac (1922–1969), novelist and haiku master: “Shorter hours will provide the labourer with a new desire to live, not to be a productive animal, but to have time to be a man, to have time to enjoy the rights of man in the use of his divine intellect, a gift of God that is overlooked by our overlords of the present Industrial Era.”

Kerouac 1

giorraigh an lá dúinn,
a Thiarna, chun go bhfeicfí
ré nua Kerouac:
sciatháin aingil ag péacadh
trínár graiceann ainmhíoch!

Lord, shorten these hours
so that a new era dawns
as Kerouac dreamed:
angelic wings come, sprouting,
from this brute animal skin!

“**Kerouac 2**” was written in response to an early story by Kerouac, “The Mystery,” in which he speculates on the nature of ownership. “As I was approaching the rail crossing near the old depot that we have in my home town, I had to lean against a sagging fence (black with soot-years) for fully ten minutes while a mighty locomotive went by freighting ninety-six cars . . . And the thought arose, why didn’t this locomotive, its cars and its cargo belong to him and to his fellow men?” He asks, as a child might ask, “Who covets these great things, so that myself and my fellow men are not heir to their full use?”

Kerouac 2

mistéir is ea é
conas nach bhfuil sciar againn
de gach a bhfuil ann
cén fáth a dtaisceann daoine
níos mó ná a ndóthain mhaith?

it’s a mystery
why we all don’t have a share
in God’s great bounty
why do men squirrel away
more than they’ll need in one life?

“**Kerouac 3**” was sparked off by the following passage from an early short piece by Kerouac, “The Wound of Living”: “I am a New Englander . . . a New Englander removed. Unlike Emerson and Thoreau, my real roots are not set in New England, though I was born there; my roots come from Brittany, and my people were hardy fishermen, like those in Synge and Loti . . .”

Kerouac 3

an smaoiním orthu—
mo shinsir? deacair a rá
conas iad a bhrath
a ngnásanna a shamhlú
a dteanga, a dteacht i dtír

do I think of them—
my ancestors? yes and no
how to conjure them
imagine their existence
how they spoke, all their struggles

■ Gabriel Rosenstock’s bilingual edition of Kerouac’s haiku, *Sioc Maidine / Morning Frost* (tinyurl.com/52cpnybp), was published by Arlen House, in association with the Imram literature festival.



SOCIALIST LAWYERS ARE ORGANISING

FOR THE FIRST time in the history of the state, socialist lawyers are organising. Trainee solicitors in the Law School in Dublin have formed the Blackhall Society of Socialist Lawyers, and they are looking for barristers, solicitors, legal academics and law students to join a national network of radical lawyers.

The aim of the group is to engage in political activism through law, and use the law to advance the cause of social and environmental movements. Legal-sector workers, including solicitors, are almost entirely non-unionised, with big firms regularly taking advantage of younger trainees. The group therefore will explore, with comrades in the unions, establishing a union for legal workers.

The society is not connected to any political party or organisation, and contains people from various political backgrounds. In Britain there is a long-standing organisation of socialist lawyers, called the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers. The Irish group hopes to work closely with comrades across the water.

The trainee group has been in contact with a number of qualified legal practitioners and will be holding a meeting in Dublin on Saturday 14 January 2023. For more information, or to become involved, email

A NEW BRITISH ARMY MEMORIAL



A chairde, Dublin City Council does indeed think that Ireland, and specifically Dublin, needs more British army WWI Memorials. Apparently the concept of Irish neutrality, not to speak of the concreting of public green areas and destruction of public spaces, does not trouble Dublin City Council. The councillors, led by Sinn Féin Northside Councillor Micheál Mac Donncha (Chairman of Commemoration Committee) who hopes to gain a Dáil seat at the next general election, include the present Green Party Lord Mayor Carol Conroy, Fianna Fáil Councillor Deirdre Heaney, Independent Councillor Damian O'Farrell, and Fianna Fáil TD Seán Haughey.

Do the people of Dublin, and indeed the Irish people, have any say in this matter? Is public land the private prerogative of Dublin City Councillors to allocate, without the need for public consultation to indeed any publicity?

Why all the secrecy? If this WWI British Army Memorial is indeed so uncontroversial, why has Dublin City Council not publicised their decision in any forum? The first mention of this story came from a piece in the *Northside People* (NE edition) on 19 October, after which a number of letters of protest appeared in the same paper. What the people of North Dublin did not know however was that the decision had already been taken by Dublin City Council behind closed doors in October 2022, and this was announced by Lord Mayor Conroy at the British Legion event in Killester on Saturday last, 12 November.

Is this type of memorial Sinn Féin policy now? If so voters in the next general election should be informed. Are we to see a proliferation of British army monuments and British Legion parades with their poppy wreaths all around Ireland, encouraged by Sinn Féin and other political parties?

And where does this leave Irish neutrality? Sinn Féin have given the impression that Ireland's neutrality is important to them, but this type of secret decision-making leaves room for doubt, and is sending out the wrong message.

Has the Green Party any policy on Irish neutrality?

Most people would imagine that wars are bad for the planet, but perhaps the present Lord Mayor does not agree. As to Fianna Fáil, we can only hazard a guess that they are so desperate for votes that they hope the British army will assist them in the next general election.

Dublin City Council also have plans to erect a "History Signboard" at the planned WWI British army monument, which will contain only the history of the British veterans' houses, ignoring the Celtic and Irish history of the historic area of Cill Easra.

Killester has an ancient graveyard which contains the Celtic and Gaelic history of Cill Easra, part of the province of Meath until the 6th Century and the site of a Celtic monastery. This area has never been excavated. There is also a Republican history from the 1920ies. Killester also has a large old corporation estate, streets of private housing, new and older apartment blocks and town houses, none of which have any connection to the British Legion.

Local people hope to start a campaign to oppose this undemocratic decision. Killester is a much larger area than that represented by the Old British veterans' houses, the majority of which have now changed hands anyhow.

This undemocratic decision by Dublin City Council should be reversed. It is ill-thought out and should be dropped in favour of maintaining the present green space, along with the open and welcoming atmosphere which was normal in Killester before this politicising of the area took place.

Áine Ní Bhroin
Cumann Staire Chill Easra



FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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