

# United Irishman

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

IUIL (JULY) 1975 • XXXIII • VII • 10p. (30c.)

## FREEDOM FOR ALL IRISH PEOPLE — Goulding

See pages 8 & 9

### BODENSTOWN



For the unity of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter

### *Ryan's budget fails to bluff the workers*

Southern Minister for Finance, Richie Ryan, has set out to woo the housewife and clobber the Trade Union Movement at the same time. Cuts in the price of bread, butter, milk flour and gas are bound to have the cheers ringing through the nation's kitchens, a fair slice of public opinion to force the Trade Union Movement to re-negotiate the National Wages Agreement.

Mr. Ryan has literally taken the classical economic example of "either guns or butter" and is not too subtly suggesting that the Trade Unions are the bad boys holding out for more guns (wage increases) and therefore depriving the poor housewife of her butter.

"We must take immediate steps to ensure that the measures that the Government are taking to wind down inflation will be matched by an appropriate revision of the remaining National Wage Agreement increases", Mr. Ryan demanded.

In other words the full responsibility for inflation now lies with the demands of workers to maintain their living standards. Employers will also be able to argue that new jobs will be created through the £12 subsidy if only the Unions are prepared to be "reasonable". It also saves on the dole which should provide a few more pounds to hand out to the hard pressed employers.

The reality is that Mr. Ryan has simply tinkered with the South's economy as if the job to be tackled was simply a monetary problem. A cut back here, an injection there and shift the responsibility for the crisis

in Western capitalism unto the backs of the organised working class.

The truth is that the Irish economy is basically unsound because the National priorities are all wrong. The E.E.C. economic policy for example is the cause of the closure of Goulding's fertilisers. Farmers being driven off the land don't need fertilisers. The rejection of a policy of creating a strong industrial base of State controlled firms in oil, natural gas and minerals means that thousands of jobs are lost annually to feed the profits of the multi-national companies.

The only solution to the main problem, unemployment, is a policy of State controlled industry based on primary products, our land and our mineral wealth. Mr. Ryan has simply postponed the day when he must put in hock what remains of our national independence by seeking a major series of foreign loans.

The Trade Union Movement and the Left in general must not only resist wage cuts but put forward a policy of economic regeneration based on the country's national wealth.

This  
Month

NORTHERN RIGHTS ISSUE  
OIL REFINERY DEMAND

CAOINEADH AIRT  
UI LAOIRE  
SOUTHERN ECONOMIC  
DOWN TURN



One of the most active Clubs once again in Belfast is the Terence Perry, based on the Leeson Street area. Chairman Joe Dowds pictured here, admiring his lettering claims that the Club provides the only political and social outlets for the people of the district.

"The children of the Lower Falls have always been deprived in terms of schools, play spaces, homes and job opportunities," he said. "Our Club is vitally concerned to alter that situation. We were foremost in the campaign for decent homes in the area and we are determined to ensure that the children have the correct sort of environment in which to grow."

The Club's American style land claim will be watched with interest in other slum areas in Belfast and it is expected that there will be similar type "land grabs" in the Markets, Sandy Row and Shankill areas of the city, where the children are equally deprived.

The only claim jumpers expected are the British Army who are known to be anxious to keep the Republican Clubs from being accepted by the people as the exponents of equal opportunities for all.

## New York Tone ceremony

The second annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration was held in New York, on Sunday, 22nd June, 1975. Approximately 200 people attended the ceremony in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

Liam Kelly, Vice-President of the Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada, was Master of Ceremonies. Maire Bradshaw, President of the IRC, laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

The speeches were made by Ann Doley, Education Officer of the IRC, who spoke on the role of women in the struggle for Irish freedom from the time of the United Irishmen to the present day, and by Tom Murphy of the Patrick Shields IRC, Baltimore, Maryland.

Clubs attended from Philadelphia, Boston, New York City, Albany, New Jersey, Springfield, Mass., and other organisations such as the Commodore Barry Club, South O'Hanlon Club, The Joint Action Committee for Irish Political Prisoners, and the National Association for Irish Freedom were represented, also the Communist Party of the USA.

## Glens recall Casement

The Roger Casement Republican Club, Ballycastle, call for support for the Casement Commemoration to be held at Murlough, Co. Antrim, on August 10 next, starting at 3 p.m. The oration will be given by Tomas MacGiolla, the President of Sinn Fein.

Roger Casement, who was hanged on August 3rd 1916 in Pentonville Prison, was reared in the Glens of Antrim, and, though from a British Loyalist background, his experiences of colonialism in the Belgian Congo and in S. America made him a convinced Irish Separatist. His firm belief in the value of the Gaelic Culture was demonstrated in his efforts to revive the Irish Language in the area and the founding of the Glens of Antrim Feis. In the grim surroundings of the death-cell in Pentonville Prison his last wish was to be buried at Murlough where he spent much of his boyhood.

Today, at a time when the Republican ideas of men like Pearse, Connolly, and Casement are being daily misrepresented in attempts to justify sectarian bigotry, the humanitarian ideas of this Protestant Republican from the Glens of Antrim are particularly valid. The example of Casement, the dedicated Republican from a Loyalist family could provide a real lesson to those bigots, whether Protestant or Catholic who simply equate Republicanism with one religious denomination. Robert Casement, the Glensman who championed the cause of the oppressed natives in South America and the Belgian Congo, the humanitarian Republican hanged by

**LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS**  
 B. Trainor, 5 years  
 D. Russell, 6 years  
 J. Goodman, 8 years  
 G. Loughlin, 12 years  
 E. McQuillan, 3 years  
 F. Weir, 10 years  
 J. J. McAuley, 5 years  
 T. McGarry, 3 years  
 P. O'Hare, 7 years  
 M. Mallon, 7 years  
 M. Donnelly, 5 years  
 B. Mackin, 12 years  
 S. Curry, 6 years  
 T. Smith, 3 years  
 P. McFarlane, 6 years  
 M. O'Hagan, 7 years  
 J. Shanks, 17 years  
 G. Duff, Life  
 B. Turley, 5 years  
 S. McVeigh, 5 years  
 J. McLaughlin, 5 years  
 B. O'Hagan, 7 years  
 G. Heatley, 5 years  
 S. Colhoun, 5 years  
 P. J. Monaghan, 6 years  
 S. Magee, 10 years  
 A. Cassin, Life  
 J. McCatherty, 8 years  
 D. Lagan, 4 years  
 K. Higgins, 6 years  
 C. Wisdom, 6 years  
 L. McAnoy, Life  
 B. McDermott, 15 months.

P. J. Kelly, life  
 M. Lambert, 5 years  
 T. Russell, 3 years  
 J. Smith, 15 years  
 J. Higgins, 6 years  
 R. Steenson, 4 years  
 J. Tasney, 4 years  
 R. Hassan, 7 years.

**LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS**  
 J. Kearney  
 J. O'Neill  
 A. Clarke  
 K. McLoughlin  
 F. O'Connor  
 J. Clarke  
 C. Brady  
 T. McDermott  
 P. Griffin  
 P. Smith  
 T. A. Breen  
 A. McDonagh  
 B. Toal  
 S. Hannon  
 L. Corr  
 J. McGuinness  
 A. Reading  
 W. Campbell  
 T. McDonald

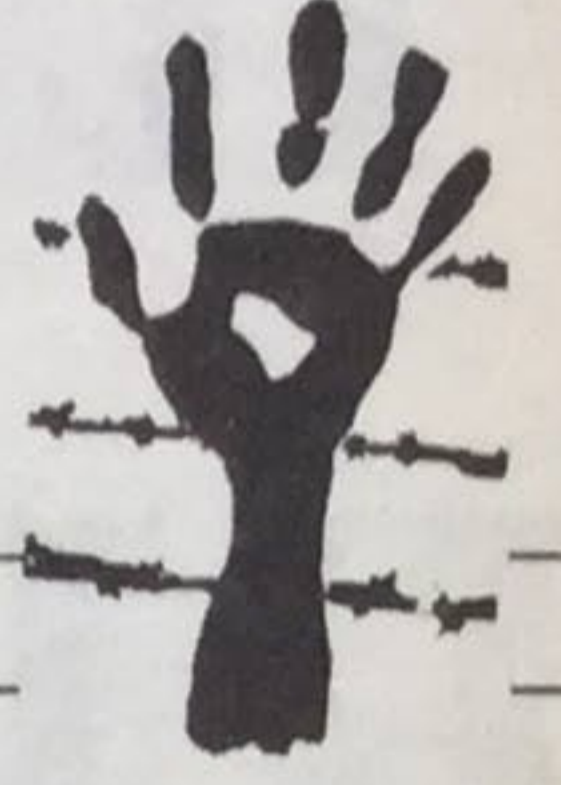
L. Lynch  
 B. Stewart  
 D. Knocker  
 J. McCann  
 E. Meek  
 D. McGeough

**LONG KESH DETAINED**  
 James McLaughlin  
 D. O'Hagan

**ENGLAND**  
 Noel Jenkinson, 30 years  
 Bob Gallagher, 6 years  
 Michael Egan, 4 years

**PORTLAOISE**  
 Ronnie Deehan, 4 years  
 Roland Giles, 6 years  
 John O'Neill, 5 years  
 Ray Lynch, 5 years  
 John McCartan, 18 months  
 John Murphy, 18 months.

# NOW!



## CABHAIR

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- Legal Aid
- Aid for their Dependants
- Noel Jenkinson Strasbourg Appeal

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED

the British in 1916, would certainly support the Republican Clubs current demand for anti-sectarian unity to end the senseless slaughter of innocent people by bigoted maniacs from both sides of the religious divide.

## Desmond Mackin Socialist

The Annual Desmond Mackin Commemoration took place at Milltown Cemetery, Belfast on June 21, 1975. The large crowd included a colour party and both the Perry and McKay bands.

Des O'Hagan, Director of Education, Sinn Fein, chaired the ceremony and the oration was delivered by Tommy Montgomery. In his address, Mr. Montgomery said: "Again we gather to pay homage to the memory of a Socialist Republican, a man who gave his life for his beliefs and principles. The least he gave was his life, because Dessie Mackin lived for others."

"Dessie was concerned with the common man. Not for him a life of idle words that would not be backed up by action to match when the test was made. He was not to be found in a crowd of agitators. Dessie led the Agitators. He was not afraid to be counted as a Republican, a Socialist, a Trade Unionist. "His love of his people in

general was surpassed only by his particular concern for children. He wanted a country in which all its children could grow up without sectarian divide. He worked to this end. He established contacts with our fellow-countrymen of differing religious persuasions and was instrumental in establishing the first genuine attempt to bring all children together on a free holiday scheme. His success and vision can be measured by the profusion of such schemes throughout the whole country to this present day, with none more successful than the scheme he inaugurated.

"Desmond Mackin's love of mankind would allow no man, woman or child to be robbed of their dignity, by any bullying force without redress, be the bully singular or plural, large or small, armed or unarmed. His concern was for the offended, not the offender; the oppressed, not the oppressor.

"Dessie's death was not factional or sectarian assassination. It was a wanton murder, perpetrated by those too ill-equipped to know or recognise the real enemy within our land. Even after the terrible war that has festered our land, the past six years. The real enemy is even now tightening its grip on our people, unaffected by the violence and degradation suffered by the working class. It will not be too long until the price of the violence has to be paid. And it will be paid — and paid by the poorest in the Community.



"But the workers of this country know the real enemy - it is the insatiable greed of International Capitalism. Our fellow workers in other countries are forcing back the boundaries of Capitalism. Its days are numbered as workers realise the folly of playing against a stacked deck. The workers of this country must be the vanguard of that fight, as were our forefathers who fought against feudalism, penal laws, absentee Landlordism, Trade Union Prohibition and the suppression of Civil Rights. We must be united in our efforts and must not be waylaid by sectarianism so rampant in our land today."

## Believe it or not

Believe it or not Ulsterbus conveyed the Terence Perry band and supporters from Belfast by a new short cut to Dublin. Via Sligo. The children were delighted and have been loudly singing the company's praises. The tour of Ireland to Bodenstown which is not on offer officially represents a new policy designed to include such choice secret drives as Enniskillen to Derry via Cork and Belfast to Ballycastle via Athlone.

The only trouble which the Belfast children's band experienced on Bodenstown Sunday was when the bus ran out of diesel on the homeward journey at Dundalk (sic).

### ROGER CASEMENT COMMEMORATION 1975

Murlough Bay, Ballycastle, Co. Antrim.

Sunday 10th August 1975.

Assemble at Murlough at 3 p.m.

Organised by the Roger Casement Republican Club, Ballycastle.

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## Church row grows

The bitter quarrel between left wing cleric Father Des Wilson and his somewhat conservative parish priest Canon Murphy has hit the headlines in the form of letters between Wilson and his bishop Dr. Philbin.

Father Wilson's resignation has sparked off a war of words behind which lies a number of issues stretching back to the period when Canon Murphy was administrator of the parish of St. Peter's, Lower Falls, Belfast. The Canon is remembered as an authoritarian who ruled every facet of the district's life, including even the type of "housing" which replaced part of the slum area.

In spite of stiff opposition from the local Republican clubs, the good Canon persuaded the people of St. Peter's that high rise flats were ideally suited to their needs. The resulting vertical slum is a monument to the Canon's concern for the housing needs of his parishioners.

But having seen what happened in part of the district the remaining parishioners began to support the Republican demands for houses and adequate play space. The remainder of the site is being developed according to the demands of the Clubs, houses and maisonnettes. People were no longer willing to listen to cries of 'reds' from the Canon, homes came before slanders.

People of all religions and none are following with interest the struggle between Father Wilson and Dr. Philbin for a more democratic approach to problems within the Roman Catholic Church.

### Ireland Upon the Dissecting Table James Connolly on Ulster and Partition.

New enlarged edition, price 60p Available from Booksellers or direct (add 5p postage) from:  
The Cork Workers' Club, Cove St., Cork City.

The Republican Movement deeply regrets the death of Barney Cassidy, Swatragh, Co. Derry. He was a member of a well known South Derry Republican family. The sympathy of the Republican Movement is extended to his wife and children.

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## REFORM

On Friday, March 23, 1973, the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs published an advertisement in the Irish News, Belfast which spelt out in detail the viciousness of sectarianism. The headline read, "Sectarianism Kills Workers". That slogan and the remainder of the advertisement was an appeal to workers in the North to unite to fight the murdering travelling gunmen.

It is interesting that the North's two other major daily newspapers refused to handle the advertisement. Then and now they lauded the efforts of the RUC to apprehend the sectarian killers. A peculiar piece of double think.

It is not carping to point out that the recent decision by Chief Constable Flannigan to set up a special patrol group comes more than two years later. In the meantime sectarian killings number hundreds.

Nor is it cynical to suggest that these efforts are only now being made as the middle class parties in the Convention begin to look at one another as possible sleeping partners. There are some who believe that the lives of innocent Protestant and Catholic workers have been used to cement the new relationship and now that this is being achieved that the RUC is being geared to end the killings. This may be unworthy of them but it is certainly understandable.

The RUC are making strenuous efforts to blot out the memory of 1969. This will be difficult while there remain leading figures in the ranks who have a record of sectarian partisanship, to put it at its mildest, Reform of the RUC is still a top priority.

## BUDGET

At a time when the government is telling working people to tighten their belts Ritchie Ryan has announced plans to subsidise private employers. This subsidy shows that capitalism is no longer able to generate employment and has to be financially backed up by the State. Currently the building industry gets 80 per cent of its finance from the State. Yet 80 per cent of the work is done by private builders.

There is very little likelihood that the Ryan strategy will solve the unemployment problem. The 103,000 unemployed are to be satisfied with their lot and grateful to the government for dole and subsidy payments.

For those in employment a wages freeze has been effectively introduced. In 1974 Irish workers had the lowest wage increases in the E.E.C. Mr. Ryan hopes to use the promise of food subsidies to back up pressure for cuts in the National Wage Agreement. An additional bait is the promise of £40m which the banks are supposed to put into housing.

It is now becoming more and more obvious that the banks must be nationalised as part of an economic strategy to tackle unemployment. The practice of the banks has been anti-social. Two thirds of their investment is outside the state. They have pumped money into ranching and property speculation while industry has been starved of investment.

The demand for the nationalisation of the banking system should be the key demand in the months ahead.

History tends to cast Nadezhda Krupskaya in the shadow of her husband, the great revolutionary thinker, fighter and statesman Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Krupskaya however was more than just a wife and confidant she was Lenin's recognised colleague in the development of the political party which he led to victory and thereafter in the building of the first Socialist State. For over 30 years until her death she was a member of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and for ten years Deputy Minister of Education of the Russian Federation.

Nadezhda Krupskaya was born on the 26th February 1869. With the death of Tsar Nicholas I in 1855 and the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War, Tsar Alexandra II abolished serfdom and introduced minor reforms. These measures did not succeed in quelling the seething discontent among the population. For Russia was then controlled by an inept and corrupt landed aristocracy. Over 80 million

## WOMEN OF THEIR TIME

peasants lived in abject poverty. Illiteracy and a total lack of civil rights was the lot of the majority. Krupskaya's father, an officer in the army was sympathetic to many of the secret protest groups and was eventually dismissed from the army. When he died in 1883 his family was left penniless. However, as Krupskaya was a clever student she obtained a place in the Bestuzhev Higher Courses for Women at St. Petersburg. It was here that she had her first introduction to Marxism. Many of the students she mixed with were greatly influenced by



● Lenin and his wife with their nephew and a friend's daughter.

## R. CLUBS

## PROPOSE

## TRAFFIC

## PLANS

The quality of life of citizens was the main theme running through three speeches made in submissions to the Belfast City Council last month in regard to a Transportation policy for the city.

As well as looking after the needs of the city with regard to transport facilities which will provide easy access and entry, a roads system that meets the needs of modern industrial development and which would secure economic growth "you have also an overriding responsibility to every citizen in this city to their wellbeing and to the quality of their life," Kevin Smyth, County Antrim Executive of Republican Clubs told the City Councillors.

Mr. Smyth said the main factor determining quality of life was the quality and quantity of housing — every citizen had the right to expect a decent home in a proper environment. He quoted from the Housing Executive's 1974 survey which called for a four pronged attack on the chronic housing situation in Belfast which the report said was "characterised by the worst housing conditions in the U.K."

The housing question was extremely relevant to the Transportation Policy when one considered the main problems militating against a massive housing programme — availability of land and resources. Of the six transportation strategies being considered by the Council, Mr. Smyth said that four were aimed at providing anti-social road schemes which would divert land, finance, skills and manpower from tackling the housing problem.

The large tracts of land cleared for the rejected Ring Road development in areas such as the Lower Falls, North Queen Street, Roden Street, Docks etc. should be handed over to the Housing Executive and instead of utilising further housing space for a negative anti-social roads scheme, the Council should opt for a

# Krupskaya

## Lenin's colleague

George Plekhanov an early Russian Marxist.

Krupskaya first met Lenin at a clandestine meeting of St. Petersburg Marxists in 1894. She was then teaching in the Smolensky Sunday Evening School. As the school was located in a working class area she was in close contact with everyday working-class life. Together with the rest of the St. Petersburg circle, Lenin and Krupskaya wrote and distributed leaflets and pamphlets outside the factories. In 1895 Lenin was arrested and exiled to the village of Sheshenkoye in Siberia. Krupskaya too was arrested in 1896 and on being sentenced to 3 years exile applied to join Lenin. Shortly after her arrival in Sheshenkoye in 1898 she and Lenin were married.

Exile was not altogether intolerable. They found a hut which provided them with sufficient space to live and work comfortably. They soon made friends with the villagers. Lenin would go hunting, swimming and fishing with them and in winter they enjoyed skating on the frozen river. On Sundays Lenin would give villagers the benefit of his legal knowledge by making himself available to those who were having problems with their landlords.

But essentially their exile was one of discipline and routine. Their time was put to fruitful study and writing. In the mornings Lenin and Krupskaya concentrated on translating Sydney and Beatrice Webb's 'Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism'. Two hours in the afternoon were spent copying the text of Lenin's 'Development of Capitalism in Russia',

published in 1898 under a pseudonym. They kept abreast of affairs in Moscow by receiving periodicals and newspapers regularly. Despite regulations which forbade any meetings they managed to keep in close contact with other exiled Social Democrats in the region.

Lenin's exile ended in 1900 and they set out for Ufa where Krupskaya had to remain until 1901. Later that year she and Lenin were reunited in Munich.

In 1901 also, Krupskaya's pamphlet 'The Woman Worker' was published. Women workers, she stated, will only be freed from exploitation when the working class triumphs over capitalism. But women must play an active part in the struggle. They have a double interest in the success of the proletarian revolution — as members of the working class and as women.

In 1905 Krupskaya returned to Russia. She was then Secretary to the Central Committee of the Party. Her work involved arranging contacts and meetings. Meanwhile the work she had been involved in before her exile continued. In factories and workshops throughout Russia, women Bolsheviks organised study circles for women. The Bolsheviks were determined that women would play their part in the Revolution to ensure that they did it was necessary to educate them.

It is interesting to note that the bourgeois feminists of Russia 70 years ago displayed the same reactionary tendencies as their Irish counterparts of today. In Russia these tendencies found expression in the League for the Equality of



● The young Krupskaya.

Women. This group had its base in the Constitutional Democratic Party, a party which served the interests of the bourgeoisie. A split resulted in the formation of the right-wing Women's Progressive Party. Neither group was concerned with the interests of working women. Instead they served only to confuse and distract them by maintaining that working-class and bourgeois women had the same interests: 'All women are equally oppressed, all of them have common interests, men cannot champion our interests for they do not understand us.' Krupskaya's 'The Woman Worker' was successful in countering feminist propaganda and the road to women's emancipation in Russia was cleared of a major obstacle.

In 1913 International Women's Day was celebrated in Russia. It had never been celebrated

anywhere in the world before and it was due to the efforts of the women Bolsheviks that celebrations were held at all.

Krupskaya was a delegate to the International Conference of Women Socialists in Berne in 1915. This was an important event as it embraced delegates from belligerent countries and was united in its opposition to the world War.

Following the October Revolution Krupskaya took charge of People's Commissariat for Education. She launched a vigorous drive against illiteracy which was weakening the power of the millions of workers and peasants who supported the Soviet Government. Over 30,000 classes for illiterates were set up.

In 1918 Krupskaya sat on the Praesidium of the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women. As a result of this Congress, the Party Central Committee instructed members in different areas to set up commissions to promote agitation and propaganda among women. In 1919, these commissions became Departments with the same status as other Departments. The most influential area in the Women's Department was the magazine 'Kommunistika' of which Krupskaya was editor.

Her indomitable spirit is best reflected in the following appeal to workers and peasants following Lenin's death in January 1924. "If you want to honour the name of Vladimir Ilyich," she wrote, "organise day-nurseries, nursery schools, children's homes, schools, libraries, clinics, hospitals, invalids' homes and above all let us put his precepts into practice."

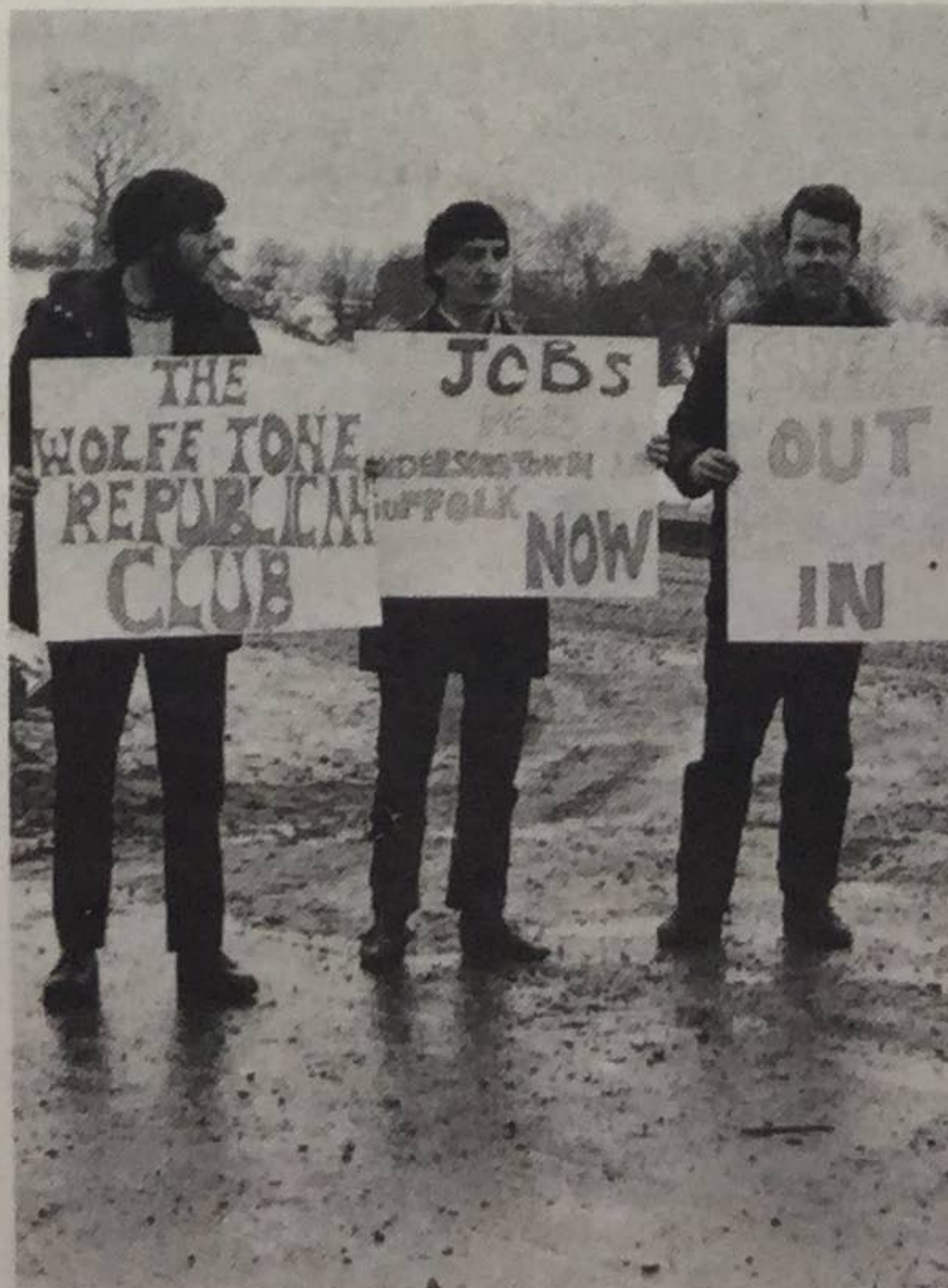
public transport orientated policy, said Mr. Smyth.

The importance of a policy favouring public transport was also stressed by Mr. Brian Brennan who spoke in support of the comprehensive proposals submitted by the Republican Clubs. Rising petrol costs had and would continue to result in declining car ownership, causing the need for public transport to reach crisis proportions. He pointed out that the bus service here had never been improved to cope with the increasing demand which resulted from an increasing population.

Mr. Brennan said that most people accepted the need to link the M1 and M2 but it was obvious that the Molra-Templepatrick link up was the most acceptable link-up for traffic by-passing Belfast. The most efficient route for traffic travelling from the Southern M1 to the Northern M2 side of the city was the outer ring road. It would be ridiculous he said, to channel traffic from the M1 to the M2 through the inner city housing areas when travelling by the outer ring road would add only 10 minutes to the cross city journey.

The choice facing the City Council was between continuing with the outdated Roads solution or deciding to bring transportation in Belfast "into the 1970s". The Council should opt for concentrating on a public transport policy rather than an inner city roads system which would increase traffic congestion and create environmental and health hazards in highly populated areas like the Lower Falls, Shankill and Sandy Row. There was, he said, no justification for the present Transportation policy and a serious attempt should be made to present alternatives to the people of Belfast.

Mr. Colm Mullan who also spoke in favour of the Republican Clubs proposals describing the Councillors as "the only persons with a mandate from the people",



● Republican Clubs active on all social issues.

called on them to "act swiftly and strongly united to destroy any possible continuation of what is already looming as a major disaster for Belfast and its future."

He suggested the creation of a Belfast District Transport Advisory Board, consisting of representatives of the City Council, Tenants Associations and Trade Unions, to determine the development of Public Transport strategy and to improve existing transport services.

He added that the Republican Clubs proposals, would prevent the destruction of "any existing class community, home or job" and would avoid the physical separation of adjoining communities.

Mr. Mullan said the Republican proposals included the return of all housing land cleared for the Ring Road to the redevelopment land bank; a special housing drive to rebuild new model urban housing schemes with a co-ordinated effort to restore housing areas suffering from blight because of the Ring Road clearance; the completion of the outer Ring Road, the cross river York Street-Sydenham Bypass connection and the Molra-Templepatrick connection; the improvement and development of public transport services including the speedy implementation of the Kinsey Study recommendations on the Rail services; the introduction of bus and cycle lanes on major routes in the city; the immediate extension of bus-route-only roads and the scrapping of the "iniquitous" bus token system which discriminated against workers and shoppers living on far out housing estates such as Twinbrook, Glengormley, Andersonstown and Donald.

Mr. Mullan also said that disturbance compensation similar to that already available to business interests should be provided for families who were forced to leave their homes because of the Roads Plan.

In the middle of the following week, I moved back East to Drogheda and there contacted Tom Grogan, the Army O/C. Tom appeared to be a taciturn, rather grim-faced man until you got to know him. His life history was a true reflection of the political state of the country — raids, arrests, hand-to-hand battles with the police, frequent periods of imprisonment. It would be no exaggeration to say that if anything happened within twenty miles of Drogheda, and sometimes further afield than that, Tom Grogan would be pulled in by the political police. He was later to distinguish himself in the day-long battle of political prisoners with warders and police in Mountjoy Prison early in 1940, and more particularly in the grimly-fought hunger strike for political treatment which resulted in the deaths of two of the strikers.

I remember in '41 and '42, a large photograph of Joe Stalin hung on the wall under the window of his cell in Mountjoy, and was the target for many joking remarks by the rest of us. But, early in 1943, with the victorious conclusion for the Soviet Union, of the bloody battle for Stalingrad I was surprised to note that the photograph had been removed from its usual prominent place on the wall.

"What have you done with Joe?" I asked Tom.

"Oh, Joe's all right now, he doesn't need my help any more; he can look after himself now," Tom airily replied.

Drogheda is one town in Ireland which has never forgotten or forgiven Cromwell. Here the Great Protector of the English Republic took the first step in his grim design to settle finally the Irish Question — by extermination, by plantation with English and Scottish settlers, by banishment to the poor outlying areas of the Atlantic Coast, by transportation to slavery. When Drogheda finally fell to the Roundheads, after the rejection by the garrison of the traditional demand for surrender following upon the breaching of the walls, a large part of the civilian population sought refuge in the Bull Ring, one of the higher parts of the town, and in a nearby church. Here the helpless men, women and children were slaughtered by the psalm-singing soldiers of the Lord; legend has it that Magdalene Street ran red with the victims' blood. The survivors of the siege were transported to the West Indies where they ended their days in slavery.

Many other fortified towns were quick to learn the awful lesson of Drogheda, and obeyed the customary summons to yield, thus saving themselves from the same ghastly fate.

On the Saturday, we cycled with the Fianna up the Boyne Valley, and wandered along the river over some of the ground fought over in one of the decisive battles of Irish history — the Battle of the Boyne, 'of glorious and immortal memory'. Remember 1690 and all that!

For Ireland, the defeat at the Boyne was followed by centuries of oppression; for England, the victory was the necessary prelude to British expansion at home and abroad, a cornerstone of an Empire in the making. Strange now to recall that, in Rome, the Te Deum was sung in celebration of the Williamite victory. How many Orangemen, who today still curse the Pope, know that the Prince William they adore as 'the champion of civil and religious liberty' freed them with the blessing and material assistance of the Pope of the day? It is worth remembering that, when international interests were at stake, the life and liberty of a few million mere Irish was worth — a Te Deum!



● On their way to the Field oblivious of the Pope's blessing.

Mullingar was the next stage of my journey. Here I renewed acquaintance with the Mulready family, Dick and Sean, Maire and Kathleen, at their shop in the Main street. After tea, Dick took me to one side and brought up the subject of where I was to sleep.

In the cottage in the local Gas Works, I was comfortably installed, and very well looked after by the young man and his sister who lived there. The weather being fine, Sean Mulready and I spent a lot of the time on our bicycles, visiting contacts in Castlepollard, Rathowen, Violetstown, Clonmellon and other likely centres.

At the last-named place, a meeting with Gene Thornbury recalled the exciting days of the mid-thirties, when the Thornbury brothers, Gene and Art, between them, contested the election for the West Belfast constituency. Art was then a prisoner in Crumlin Road gaol, but Gene successfully deputized for his brother during the election campaign. When I met him in Clonmellon, Gene had settled down to the less eventful life of a schoolmaster.

Something more than thirty miles westwards, I moved into my next organising area, in Longford. Here again it was like meeting old friends, the welcome and the hospitality brimming over as soon as I entered the door. Tea was soon on the table, and I pulled my chair up thankfully,

Here the helpless men, women and children were slaughtered by the psalm-singing soldiers of the Lord; legend has it that Magdalene Street ran red with the victims' blood.

ready, after my long journey, to attack the new-baked cake now being cut.

"I bet you're ready for this," the bean a' toighe remarked as she put the cake before me. I smiled agreement, looked at the cake, and then, with an effort, managed to continue smiling. The freshly cut bread was a seed cake. There is nothing I detest more than caraway seeds, so for the next ten minutes I endured a rather special form of

## Light in the Black North

torment. Hunger and good manners both forbade leaving the table until I had apparently satisfied my needs. Worse than that, I had to eat with every sign of relish and enjoyment. Somehow I managed it.

During the next few days I travelled to various centres of the County such as Drumlish, Ballinalee and Ballinamuck, with little success. Numerically, this was one of the weaker areas in I.R.A. support, and this weakness was naturally reflected in the lack of interest in the Fianna.

In Ballinamuck there is a fine monument to the 'Pikemen' of 1798 raised to honour those who fell in the battle fought close to the town. There on the morning of September 8th an English army of close on thirty thousand men surrounded the Franco-Irish army of three thousand men. The French, numbering about a thousand, were offered honourable terms by the Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis — terms which they accepted, although they did not include their Irish allies. With what feelings of betrayal and hopelessness, the handful of Mayo peasantry must have awaited the onslaught of the English forces which, already superior in arms and equipment, now outnumbered them by fifteen to one. Yet it was only after some hours of bitter, bloody fighting that the Irish resistance was broken. Then the slaughter began in earnest, as individually or in small groups the beaten Irish were hunted through the fields, woods and bogs in the neighbourhood of Ballinamuck. Of the hardy Mayo men who, little more than a week earlier, had played a leading part in the battle

known as 'the Races of Castlebar' (because of the speed with which the English forces left the field to their conquerors), few survived the ensuing carnage.

From Roscommon to Leitrim, through Rooskey, Dromod and Drumsna to Carrick-on-Shannon, I was on the move again, with calls on Nipper Shanley and the parents of Jimmy Joe Reynolds who had lost his life in the tragic affair at Castlefinn, nine months earlier.

Shannon-View Hotel, my home for a week, was then owned by Mr. and Mrs. Deignan; their only son, Bill, lived with them too, but his main interests lay in boating and fishing.

These people, known or suspected Republicans, had been torn from their homes and jobs with scarcely time to get a few things together — certainly without the opportunity to put their affairs in order.

To Mrs. Deignan, the hotel and the people who used it were the big thing in her life. The Republican faith, however, was strong and vigorous in this grand couple, and they were ever ready to help or shelter Republicans passing through. Here I met a priest who had been silenced for his political differences with a bishop; like a shadow he flitted around the house, a soul permanently suspended between two worlds, to neither of which he could completely belong or devote himself. Mrs. Deignan saw to it that he wanted for nothing while serving his life sentence. A pity that Ireland is

IVIL  
**The life  
of the  
Irish only  
worth  
a —  
Te Deum**

inevitable. By 11 a.m. on Sunday, September 3rd, Britain was at war with Germany. Every night we discussed the war, and indulged in speculation on its outcome, and especially on the consequences it would have for Ireland and her people.

In Clady on the border, not far from Castlefinn, lived Mrs. Kelly, widow of J. J. Kelly, another of the victims of the Castlefinn explosion. Mrs. Kelly and her young son John had still not recovered completely from the terrible blow of J.J.'s sudden death, in those days of 1939 when I called several times to visit with them. They lived and acted and spoke almost as if it had happened only yesterday. It was a melancholy experience for me when one day Mrs. Kelly, usually strong in self-control, burst out: "God in heaven! Sometimes I think I'm going out of my mind when I realise that I'll never see my man again — never see him walking through that door again — never hear his voice again; it's more than a woman can bear". "A terrible reminder they will be to them,  
These white crosses  
Glowing in the dusk, by the roads of Kerry;  
Pitiful, lovable names on them . . .

Dark eyes of mothers, questioning always,  
Questioning dumbly  
The death they died,  
The horror, and the glory, and the shame . . ."  
(L i a m M a c G a b h a n ) .

Kerry, the smallest Irish County in size of population — about 130,000 in 1939 — is famed for its beauty of mountain and lake, valley and coastline. Banna Strand, the Vale of Tralee, the Dingle Peninsula, Kenmare and, of course, the incomparable Killarney of the Lakes, I have seen them all, and marvelled at their beauty. But the Kerry picture which remains ever alive in my memory is that of the simple White Crosses, erected by the people to honour their fathers, sons, brothers, husbands, foully murdered by the green-coated thugs of the Free State Army. In the fields and lanes and streets, on the mountain side, in the valleys and by the shores of their lovely Kingdom, these young Kerrymen, most of them in their teens and early twenties, died bitter,

“  
And significantly among those still remembered with affection and pride was the Englishman, Rudge Hathaway, maltreated and then murdered by the Staters because he stood by his Irish comrades in defence of the Irish Republic.  
”

lonely deaths for the Republic they refused to betray. Many of these 'Soldiers of the Rearguard' were tortured and brutally beaten before being killed, while in some cases landmines were used to despatch groups of bound, helpless prisoners. In 1939, the memory of these tragedies and of their victims was as fresh as when the terrible crimes were committed. And significantly among those still remembered with affection and pride was the Englishman, Rudge Hathaway, maltreated and then murdered by the Staters because he stood by his Irish comrades in defence of the Irish Republic.

not full of such priests, and of women such as Mrs. Deignan.

On the day before my planned departure from Carrick, I fell ill with pleurisy, and decided to return to Dublin; I had no wish to be a burden on Mrs. Deignan who had quite enough to do without toiling up and down stairs attending to me. Of course, she did not know that I was ill.

On the Sunday I was out and about, feeling rather weak and shaky, but well enough to go for a walk with Mollie who had come down to see me. Since we had last met in June, Mollie had served her fourteen-day sentence in Armagh gaol for the wearing the Easter Lily. Her graphic descriptions of life in a women's prison, and her experiences during the comparatively short time she was there were refreshing indeed. But years later she admitted that the four years between 1941-45 which she spent in internment seemed not half so long as that two week stretch in 1939.

There had been other changes while I had been out in the country. Large numbers of men and women, young and old, had been forcibly deported from England, and were now creating a special problem for the Army Authorities and Republican friends who strove to assist them to find accommodation and work. These people, known or suspected Republicans, had been torn from their homes and jobs with scarcely time to get a few things together — certainly without the opportunity to put their affairs in order before being put on the boat for Ireland.

Now fit and strong again, I travelled by train back to Carrick-on-Shannon and set off on my bicycle for Sligo town via Boyle.

A few days after my arrival, we heard on the radio the first news of the German invasion of Poland. We knew then that the entry of Britain and her allies into the conflict was

**Many  
men and  
women  
deported  
from  
England**

The remainder of my tour of Kerry which centred mainly around Tralee and Killarney passed without incident, and in mid-November I headed for Mitchelstown, thence on to Cahir, stopping over the week-end at Mountain Foot Poultry Station in the shadow of the Galtees.

Near Clonmel I stayed for a couple of days with a veteran of the Tan War, who had endured and survived a hunger-strike of more than seventy days while a prisoner in the Curragh. By coincidence, Republican prisoners held in Arbour Hill Detention Barracks were just then hunger-striking for release. Times had not changed overmuch.

Having exhausted my list of contacts, I felt that it was time to return to Dublin and report once more. Besides it was full winter now, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to carry out my task. Accordingly, I headed northwards; cycled as far as Templemore where I caught the Cork-Dublin express and finished the journey in comparative comfort.

Since the beginning of the war, Army Publicity had been using their short-wave radio transmitter for sound broadcasts. Their programmes were well received in a limited area which roughly embraced the City and County Dublin. There was no reliable indication of how many people listened to these broadcasts, or of what effect they had as a means of publicity and propaganda. Very likely it was a case of preaching to the converted.

In the Political and Aliens Divisions of the Special Branch, these broadcasts had their most attentive listeners. Fixed and mobile direction-finding stations were set continuously on the wavelength of the 'Illegal' transmitter, while police cars scoured the more likely suburban areas of the city for external signs of the set, such as the installation of new, very high, or unusually powerful-looking aerial.

During the months of broadcasting, every precaution was taken by the men concerned to safeguard the set from detection. Frequent use of the set without an almost equally frequent change in location, however, allowed the G-men gradually to narrow down the area in which the set was being operated. The search was unrelenting and, by

now, the only way to have saved the set would have been to dump it and abandon open broadcasting indefinitely.

Unfortunately, the broadcasts were continued with, and in December the ceaseless hunt was crowned with success when a raid on a house in Highfield Road, during the period of a broadcast, netted not only four officers of the Army Executive, but also the long-sought transmitter. Peadar O'Flaherty, Larry Grogan, Willy McGuinness and Jack Plunkett, the four men trapped in the house, were the first senior officers of the I.R.A. to be removed from the political scene. For them, the struggle was all but over.

Before another six months were past, we were to realize fully how foolish it had been to use our only means of long range communications in purely local publicity; for when a really urgent need for an efficient set arose, there was none available. It is easy to be wise after the event — the fact is that no one was wise beforehand.

In September, Government action against the I.R.A. in the South began with the internment of a comparatively small number of well-known Republicans in Arbour Hill Military Detention Barracks. Hunger-strikes began within weeks of the first arrests, and one by one as the men attained their thirtieth day without food, they were unconditionally released. Habeas Corpus was the next weapon to be used on the constitutionally weak position of the Government, and as a consequence their Coercion Act was found to be riddled with holes. Tacitly yielding their indefensible situation, the authorities turned the remaining internees loose.

A point had been surrendered, but it was a mere outpost in the political struggle; the Government had no intention of retreating further. They had discovered, or been shown, the weaknesses in their Coercion Act, and swiftly set about repairing the damage, with fresh legislation. Quietly too, they began the preparations for fresh internments

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And so St. Patrick's Day was the big day for the newly reorganised Fianna, when the Dublin lads, fully uniformed and equipped, and proudly bearing aloft their fine new banner, marched through the streets on their customary pre-Ard-Fheis parade.  
”

on a massive scale, this time in the bleak plains of the Curragh, in the heart of the Military Headquarters of the Free State Army, a place well-known to a previous generation of political prisoners. Work soon commenced on the building of the Camp through which, in the course of five years, thousands of Republicans and suspected Republicans would pass.

With my return to Dublin in December, after spending a couple of weeks in Carlow and Kildare, my country-wide tour as Fianna Organiser was at an end. For the next six weeks, most of my time was spent in co-operating with Liam O'Looney, Dublin Fianna O/C, in the task of building up the City Units.

And so St. Patrick's Day was the big day for the newly re-organised Fianna, when the Dublin lads, fully uniformed and equipped, and proudly bearing aloft their fine new banner, marched through the streets on their customary pre-Ard-Fheis parade. The Ard-Fheis, or Annual Convention, held later in the day, reflected the determination of the Republican Youth of Ireland to pursue enthusiastically the ideals of Liam Mellows, their noble founder and teacher. George Plunkett was confirmed as chief scout, I was appointed A/G, being replaced as National Organiser by Liam Noonan, of Kerry.

Joe Doherty continues with his personal recollections of the '30's; his entry into Fianna Eireann and his gradual development as a Republican. Many of our readers will know of the role that Joe Doherty played in the '40's as a senior member of the Republican Movement prior to his imprisonment. Future articles will recall the turbulence of the '40's and the developments which culminated in the bombing campaign in Britain. There are many similarities between that period and the present confusion which exists in the minds of many of our people. Joe Doherty's path to Republican Socialism was through those difficult years; his experiences recounted here should help the uncertain to decide.

# BODENSTOWN

Over 5,000 thousand people attended the Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodenstown. Every branch of the Republican Movement was well represented but particularly welcome were representatives of the Chilean people now exiled in Ireland.

The day was marred by the murder of Christopher Phelan whose brave intervention prevented cowardly bombers from taking the lives of many travelling to Sallins from Dublin by rail. The Republican Movement extends its deepest sympathy to his wife and five children.

A fund has been established to aid the bereaved family and Sinn Fein ask that readers subscribe as generously as possible.

The oration was delivered by Cathal Goulding and is reproduced in part below:

Comrades,

We have come here, not to commemorate the death of Wolfe Tone, but to celebrate the life of the Republican philosophy that he inspired. This is not a pilgrimage, a pious visitation to a holy place, but a popular rally that gives us in the Republican Movement the chance to assess, before the people of Ireland, our progress towards the achievement of Tone's objectives and to suggest to the people of Ireland the way forward in the hard years ahead.

We make of Tone no plaster saint, no man of narrow vision; we recognise him as a full-blooded revolutionary who witnessed and recorded the conditions of his people and who loved them and life so much that he was prepared to give his days and energies and at last, his life so that they might enjoy the liberty that they demanded and he so passionately desired. We want this place to echo neither the poor dramatic of shallow nationalism or the hysterical platitude that promise revolution round the corner, we want it to be the place where the inheritors of Tone's tradition can say with truth: we are determined to succeed where he failed.

## Campaign

In the decade since the 50th anniversary of 1916, we have experienced, with the exception of famine, all the hope and tragedy, all the sacrifice and treachery, all the repression and resistance that has been experienced in the two centuries since Tone lived and organised, since he won to his side a small band of dedicated supporters of a separate, revolutionary state. We must look at that decade to learn the lessons of the failures we have suffered as much as to draw inspiration from the successes we have gained.

When the campaign of the 1950's failed, for all the courage of our comrades and the loyalty of our supporters, the Republican Movement attacked the problems of policy and direction, of organisation and objectives, and by democratic debate, by refusal to accept the victory of superior forces as final, by drawing into our ranks new blood and vision, we took a new road and won new support, and raised new hope of progress towards a just society in all 32 counties of Ireland.

We appealed not to a minority of Irish men and women but to all of our people, North and South, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, Gaelic speaking and English speaking, trade unionists and small farmers, fishermen and tradesmen, we appealed to all who shared our conviction that civil and religious

liberty are essential to full freedom, and full freedom, social, political, and economic, to the ultimate victory of the Irish people. We appealed in particular for support for the weak and deprived among the working class — the homeless and the badly housed, the workless and the emigrant — and we appealed to the workers of the Six Counties to unite behind the just democratic demands of the Catholic population for equality of rights with their Protestant neighbours.

And we succeeded, comrades — let no-one tell you otherwise — we succeeded in mobilising the support of the mass of the Irish people for organisations which demanded progress and made progress. Look back to the 1960's and the popular support given to the housing action committees in the South, look to the North and the massive backing given to the Civil Rights Movement, look to the increased awareness of the rights of the trade unions, of women, of our rights as a people to control the resources that are ours, and you will find, in every area in which progress was made, that the Republican Movement was involved, directly and indirectly as leader and supporter, alone or in alliance with the forces that were fighting for the advance of progressive causes.

## Reform

Our struggle in the Six Counties led to both mobilisation and achievement. It drew the progressive elements of the Protestant working class into the struggle of their Catholic brothers for democratic reform. It led, with greater effect than any other action, to the destruction of the Orange monolith and its continuous rule. It caused the disbandment of the B Specials and the disarming of the R.U.C. It produced one-man one-vote and inspired our brothers of the British working class to demand through the trade union movement and the progressive section of the Labour Party, a Bill of Rights. These, singly or in isolation, were not revolutionary advances. Taken together, they formed the basis of democratic reform and offered revolutionary potential under radical guidance.

## Survival

By their campaign of military action against non-military targets, the Provisionals founded, let us never forget, in connivance with a bankrupt and fearful Fianna Fail Government — alienated the Protestant workers of the Six Counties, diverted attention from the struggle for democratic reform produced the stimulus the Loyalists needed to recover Orange unity, excused the replacement of the B Specials with an equally vicious, equally corrupt force, the U.D.R., lent weight to arguments for re-arming the R.U.C. and did more than anything else to destroy the sympathy of the British working class. And the campaign gave the enemies of the Irish people — the ruling classes of Britain and Ireland — the opportunity to impose on all who resisted their will a kind of repression that was even more vicious than the repression we had

fought to destroy.

The Provisionals campaign once more diverted attention, North and South from the struggle for democratic rights and social advance. The ruling class could hardly have been better served if they had planned the campaign themselves. The explosion of car bombs drowned the voices of protest. The screaming of their victims shut out the prospect of progress. Political action in a condition of siege came second — and a long way second — to the business of survival. The Catholic population whom the Provisionals claimed to protect, were harassed in their homes, hindered in their movements, hounded by the thugs of the British Army and interned or imprisoned by the very regime which the Provisionals claimed to destroy.

## Intimidation

We in the Republican Movement shared the fate of the working class people of the Six Counties and, in so far as it was possible, to defend them against the mid-night thuggery of the Imperialist Forces. We took action against the uniformed thugs who engaged in murderous assault and shameless intimidation. We fought, as we must always fight and

will always fight, whoever the plundering aggressor may be, to defend the people's gains. The people demanded peace; weary of the continuous brutality and alarmed by the threat of even more brutal war — civil war between the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working class — the people of the Six Counties cried out for another way forward and we in the Republican Movement responded to their demands. We were the first of all the struggling groups in the Six Counties to recognise where the mindless campaigns of violence were leading and we have maintained our ceasefire, which was the peoples will, against all provocation, intimidation, abuse, and assault.

## Sectarianism

When the Provisionals, after the tally of dead had reached 1,200 and the lists of maimed had run to many thousands and the gains made were a few drab incident centres — when, after all this, the Provisionals hesitated before the certain holocaust and called a ceasefire, we welcomed that move. We repeat our wish that it should be permanent. But the sores of sectarianism they had opened now run with the blood of Irish men, women and children. The



● Cathal Goulding delivering the oration.





● Frank McGlade, Chairman at Bodenstown.

reactionary forces they had awoken and stirred to unity have built their strength in the fears of the Protestant workers. The blind hatred and bigotry they had released and used and is being used to the advantage of the middle-class opportunists of the Loyalist Coalition.

And when the Provisionals ceased their provocation, when it seemed *there might be hope*, out of the ashes of destruction, born of hatred and sectarianism there arose the Irish Republican Socialist Party and its Peoples Liberation Army, as if to ensure that bigotry might not die, repression might not wither and sectarian incitement might not fade. An organisation of a few, bitter, self-centered and unscrupulous men and women, it was prepared to use the working people of this country, cynically mouthing the clichés of revolution, as the pawns in a terrible gamble with their lives. The I.R.S.P. wants sectarian strife, wants a situation of chaos, wants the death and destruction which these things make inevitable, in order, as they see it, to emerge from the ashes to a revolutionary future. Think of it, comrades. I ask the Irish people to think of it, to contemplate the depths to which these people will sink, one only too ready to sink, so that the mad ambitions that they cherish might be fulfilled.

## Unity

They talk, not of the viciousness of the imperialist system which it is the aim of all Republicans to destroy, but of their criticism of the Republican Movement. They have armed themselves not to defend gains made — because they have made none but to provoke the Protestant working class into retaliation against the Catholic working class, so that wholesale murder, intimidation and terror might follow. They have armed themselves, not for their protection or for the protection of working people, but to stimulate action against working people, in order to secure the bloody conditions which they consider to be essential to their success in revolution.

What kind of revolution is this? what kind of progress? what is this mad scheme that would blatantly sacrifice the lives and homes and freedom of working people for the egotistical advancement of a few crazy men? They shame the names of Republican and Socialist.

Their actions deny them. They murdered Paul Crawford and Sean Fox. The murderers of Liam McMillan will be remembered only because they murdered a great man, because they wanted to silence the authentic voice of working class Belfast, because the struggle to unite the working class was and is anathema to them, because they seek not unity but division.

Unity is our struggle, comrades. We will not be diverted from it by any force, however vicious or murderous its attack, whether it comes directly from the British Army of occupation or from groups who might as well be their agents as the so-called standard bearers of revolution. Unity of the working class remains our aim, as our enemy remains British imperialism in all its forms and our objective remains full freedom — social, economic, political and cultural — for all our people.

## Challenge

We emphasise full freedom. We emphasise all of the country. If in the 26 Counties there is not massive and sustained opposition to the policies which the present government inherited from Fianna Fail and continued without a blink of shame, we will soon find added to the Criminal Justice Act and the Offences Against the State Amendment Act the new Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act and we will find that the limited freedom that exists in this state will have been so eroded that we will be, effectively, on the verge of fascism. Frightened imperialism, worried by the development of radicalism in many places, is testing the determination of ordinary people and their will to support radical reform in both church and state. Fr. Wilson of Ballymurphy is a challenge to the Church establishment in its most reactionary form. His challenge, too, cannot be ignored or separated from the rest of Irish life, for if he is defeated, this will signal a massive assault by the right, a demand to be involved in an authoritarian way in discussion and decision that affects our everyday lives. And we as republicans and socialists would be foolish to turn our heads away from Fr. Wilson's struggle, to pretend that the outcome is irrelevant.

The repression, North, South and in Britain, that we fight and must go on fighting, has interned, jailed and murdered members of the

Republican Movement since we last came to Bodenstown to celebrate the living inspiration of Wolfe Tone. As we celebrate Tone's inspiration, we pay tribute, too, to those of the Republican Movement who have suffered and are suffering the concentrated repression of a frightened ruling class. We say to them the struggle from which you have been removed for a while is continuing, will continue and will succeed. For the national struggle is the struggle for all the people and it is aimed at the reconquest of Ireland by the Irish people, nothing less. No short-sighted victory of flags and titles will do. We will not be satisfied with less than the ownership of our country. We will not be satisfied with a new name, a new anthem, a new ruling class.

## Structure

But to achieve our objectives it is essential that we also look clearly at ourselves, our movement and its structure. As new tasks present themselves and as we become more involved in working towards a solution, we cannot remain satisfied with our existing structures. To meet new problems effectively and successfully, we must adapt our organisational framework to the present and prepare it for the future. In time to come, we will, no doubt, be just as dissatisfied with the new framework for as our short-term revolutionary objectives are constantly changing, so the structure must change to meet the needs of the time. This demands an evolutionary concept to keep abreast of changing conditions if we are to liberate people from the chains of the establishment and its policies.

It seems to us now that in the North the Convention is moving towards agreement on the re-establishment in some form of the old Stormont situation with a parallel return to sectarian politics. It is, therefore, essential that we should repeat and with even greater determination demand a Bill of Rights for the Six Counties which will, specifically and without any ambivalence.

## Rights

Guarantee the freedom of political thought and activity for all citizens;

Guarantee the end of repressive laws, which breach common law and contravene international human rights legislation;

Guarantee the outlawing of discrimination against any citizen for reason of belief, religion, politics, sex, race or colour;

Guarantee the establishment of law enforcement agencies acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the citizens.

These guarantees, we insist, must be accompanied by suitable and meaningful machinery for their implementation. These guarantees and the machinery for their implementation are essential to the achievement of lasting peace.

The R.U.C. and the U.D.R. are not and never can be acceptable forces for the administration of law and order, whatever emerges from the Convention, whatever kind of deal is done by the middle-class opportunist politicians, whatever the role of the new regime. As the Republican Clubs have made clear, nothing less than the abolition of the U.D.R. and the R.U.C. will be considered satisfactory. And the R.U.C. must be replaced by a police force which is not armed and does not have hand, act or part in political affairs. A properly trained, civilian-controlled, unarmed and non-sectarian police force is the only force that will be acceptable to all of the people of the Six Counties, the only force that will not provoke continuing resentment and resistance and stimulate continuing conflict.

The crisis that has stricken the capitalist system throws open to us

the opportunity to organise and agitate the working people of Ireland, who can see in the many manifestations of the crisis, all the failures of this system — the total, inescapable and inevitable failure — to meet the demands of working people. The trade union movement must now be supported in its demand for radical change in the organisation and control of all our resources. The Republican Movement stands for total public control of our resources and demands that the wealth of Ireland should be held, exploited and disposed of only by the people of Ireland.

The Republican Movement recognises that the E.E.C. is a major obstacle to this achievement, that it has clearly failed to bring any of the benefits which the expensive lies of the pro-market forces of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael led our people to expect, that it has crippled our industry, is squeezing our small farmers out of existence and sending the prices of food and clothing beyond the range of working class people; recognising this and aware of the disasters that continuing membership must bring, we demand that the issue be reopened and exposed, now with the advantage of knowledge, to the judgement of the Irish people.

## Democratic

We recognise that progress towards our ultimate objective will not be along an easy road. We recognise that it may be slow. But we are determined to fight on all fronts for its achievement. We are determined to defend the gains that we have made. We are determined to use all of the weapons at our disposal — all of the forces at our command — to secure the full freedom of every citizen of our country and the liberation of every ounce of our resources, every inch of our soil.

We demand for the people of all Ireland the right to live, the right to work, the right to control their own wealth, the right to be free from all external control or domestic repression, the right to develop the wealth of our culture and to full, free non-sectarian education for all of our children. These are not excessive demands. These are democratic demands. These issues are not separate from the struggle for National Liberation, they are inseparable from that struggle. As we demand the removal of the British Army of occupation from the Six occupied counties of our country so we demand the withdrawal of all other manifestations of imperialism from Irish soil.

## Liberation

We have always considered ourselves, comrades, not as an isolated group in a small country but as part of a world-wide movement of national liberation and as we stand here at the grave of a man who drew his inspiration from the success of the French Revolution and sought the assistance of the new revolutionary government of France almost two centuries ago, so we take courage and comfort from the successful struggle of our comrades in other countries. We share the triumph of the people of Vietnam and Cambodia, we share the victories of the Portuguese people and of the African colonies of Portugal, Angola and Mozambique. We share the hope of the people of Spain in their struggle against fascism and of the people of Cyprus as they organise against the same brutal division which British imperialism imposed upon them as upon the people of Ireland. We are not alone, comrades, as Tone was not alone. But unlike Tone it is open to us to organise and advance so that we may achieve what he desired — a 32-county, secular, socialist republic.

# RTE LOFA LE BROCAMAS

**SCEAL  
SCEIL**

## Tumadoiri on iasacht

Tá fadhb ar fhadhb ag iascairí Chiarráí le tamall anuas agus is i gceantar na Gaeltachta is mó atá sé seo braite. Tamall ó shin bhí go leor tumadóirí ón iasacht ann agus iad ag déanamh an diabhail ar na gliomaigh. Cé go raibh fhios ag beagnach gach éinne go raibh an dream seo ag árdach na céadta gliomach leo gac lá bhí sé deacair dóibh aon rud gur fiú e, a dhéanamh. Cuireadh gearán go dtí na Gardaí, ach is baolach gur chaith siad súd morán dá gcuid aimsire ag féachaint ar dhream eile ná raibh aon chladhaireacht ar siúl acu cé nar dhein san d'aon ghnó. Pé scéal é, de bhárr bagairtí agus go leor cainte sa phreas faoi, tá an dream seo baillithe leo.

### "ERBEL"

Anois tá iascairí an Daingin agus iad súd ag gearán agus an babhta seo, siad na maircréil ata ag déanamh tinnis dhóib. Mar sea atá. Le tamall tá an t-aonad roichte atá ag Erbel Teo. ag Baile Uí Shé in aice an Daingin ar fáilt ag na hiascairí chun a gcuid maircréil a stóráil ann i ndian-reo. Anois deir an bhainistíocht ná beidh an ait ar fáilt dóibh a thuille, mar go bhfuil siad ag dúnadh do "shaoire". Fé láthair tá Gaeltarra agus bainistíocht Erbel, dream Beilgeach, ag plé 'todhchaí' Erbel san áit mar go bhfuil gannachúis ar an sparán acu súd.

Deir iascairí an Daingin go rabhadar, chun ionad fuaraithe don iasc a thógaint ach 'gur ait an rud é go mbeadh siad ag déanamh a leithéid faid is tá ceann eile in aice leo gur thug Gaeltarra deontas dhó agus "gan aon úsáid á bhaint as." Maith go leor, ach más rud é ná beidh an t-ionad ar fáilt beidh ar na hiascairí éirí as an iascach ar feadh an chuid eile don seasúr seo!

Sa ghnólach eile a bhí tamall den tsaol ag "Blacket Sea Foods" sa Daingean agus atá anois ag "Silver Seal" a bhíonn ag plé le deatú éisc, tá sé iata gur cheap ionadaí ón Roinn Saothair go raibh se 'baolach'. Mar a chloisim, bhí se amhlaidh ach tá san á leasú fé láthair. Mar sin tá an saol 'corraitheach céasta ag lucht an éisc fe láthair'.

Agus ós ag caint ar an iascach sinn níor mhiste dhúinn ár mbeannacht a chur le Jer O Ciobháin agus Domhnall Mac Síthigh atá imithe timpeall na tíre ina naomhóg-feara crua.

Ta greann pictiur ar chlodach Rosc de Chonor Cruise ina shuí mar mhaidrin lathaigh ag eisteach le gromafon de tsean deanamh amhail mar a bhíodh an pictiur ar cheirníní HMV fado. Scriobhtra ar an ghromafon ta BBC 1.

Is mor an truaigh nach bhfuair an greann pictiur seo nios mó poiblíochta mar chuirfeadh se ar a suile do phobal na hEireann go soileir, rud ata ina n-intinn le fada i.e. — Gur e CCOB an Seoinín is mo sa tír seo o aimsir John Redmond. (Dala an sceal tathair ag deanamh rehabilitation ar an gclaitseach ud le tamail anuas).

Se mian croi CCOB na go mbeadh sinne inar "If not willing slaves at least managable ones", chuide seo is mian leis sin a bhaitheadh i gcultúr Impireacht Shasana agus cibe meas ata agaim orainn fhein mar dhaoíní — mar Eireannaí a scrios.

Ta se ar an obar seo le tamall, maith anois agus go deimhin ta dul un cinn mor deanta aige ach dreir cosulachta ta ag teip air tabhairt ar phobal na hEireann, glacadh le meain chumarsaide na Sasana go hairithe thaobh na telefise do. Nil fear ar bith go tiubh leis an fhear a shileann go bhfuil se thar a bheith glic. Agus is amhlaidh do CCOB e. Thug se dubhshlan RTE a gcas a chuir un tosaigh do dara "bealach" (channell).

Shil se (go deimhin shil me fhein nach mbeadh an bodach fimineach sin in innimh faic a dheanamh), nach raibh siad i ndon maith a dheanamh ach rinne. Rinne agus chuir siad Kevin Marron as an Sunday World ar a thoin le na Poll beag suarach fein.

Ach an dream a bhrisfeas e na na ceard chumainn agus ta fhios aige sin. Agus ta fhios ag an BBC sin agus ma sheasann pobal na hEireann leo — agus ona mbunadh fhein iad caithfidh se geilleadh do RTE 2.

Ach anois cen seort RTE 2?

Ni guth na ndaoíní RTE 1, mar ata se. Ni chuireann se a mianta os a gcoir. Ta cinsireacht a dheanamh air, ta se lofa le brocamas "canned" ta fíor bheagan Gaeilge air agus nios lugha na sin de chultúr na ndaoíní air. Ta a lucht stiurth lofa (Donal O Morain & a chuid) agus a leiritheoirí seachas eisceacht no beirt i lar an Aigean Atlantach. Mar sin do ni scaile de sin ata dhith arainne ach mean cumarsaide (in dariribh) gur duinne e mar Eireannaí agus gur uainne e mar Eireannaí a chuirfeadh oideachas orainn agus meas orainn fein.

Faio an Bhunreacht (mas feidir sin a thabhairt air), si an Ghaeilge an chead teanga oifigiúil agus mar sin bheadh sinn ag suil go mbeadh an Ghaeilge in ait an tionchair in RTE2. Ni hionann sin agus a radh go ndeanfaidh neamhshuim de na cultúir eile sa tír cuma cultúr cathrach no tire, thuaithe no theas ach go taispeanfaidh go soileir gurbhí an chaitiur Gaelach agus an Ghaeilge an bun fhoínne doibh ar fad — agus se sin mian an choismhuintir go foill in aindeoin iarrachtaí, CCOB agus na seoiníní eile an dubh a chuir ina gheal orainn.

Mas seard ata i gceist na RTE 2 a chuir ar bun ar an phrionsabal ceanna a ba chuis le bunadh BBC 2, bhuel nil sin ag teastail uainne no bhfhearrde duinne an namhad a fheiceail ainmniste go soileir mar BBC I in ionad RTE 2 — no dreir mar fheicim ni bheadh de dhifriocht eattora ach an tainm. Seard ata uainn no Coras telefise gur uainne agus duinne e.



● Seoinín s'agalne, C. C. O'Brien, Phd.



● John Arden (Morrissey), Sean Ban Breathnach (Art) agus Caitlin Ni Dhonnchu (Eibhlin).

# Caoineadh

## Airt

## Ui Laoire

"Lo, Arthur O'Leary, generous, handsome, brave, slain in his youth, lies in this humble grave."

Ta feartlaoi nua-aimseartha scríofa ag Cinegaeil ar Art O Laoire, feartlaoi a thugann air eiri on uaigh le teagasc polaitíochta reabhloideach a chur chun cinn. Sin bun agus barr an scannain nua seo. Briseadh tríd e do Sinn Féin a chuir an t-airgead ar fail len a dheanamh agus briseadh tríd e o thaobh teicnice agus abhair e do Cinegaeil.

Eibhlin Dubh Ni Chonaill a scríobh an dan roscach seo tar eis bhais a cheile Art ag Carraig an Ime do bharr liuochain. Duine do na Geanna Fiaíne ab ea Art a d'fhill ar Eirinn on Ostair agus a'spain go raibh se beag beann ar an gcomharsanacht Sasanach a casadh air ansin. Dhiultaigh se each leis a dhiol le Sasanach aitiuil, rud a bhi ceangailte air de reir na bPeindlithe a d'ordaigh go gcaithfeadh Caitliceach capall leis a dhiol ach tairiscint £5 a bheith deanta air, agus is de bharr an aighnis san a deineadh an liuochan air.

Is fiú an bun dan, a scríobh Eibhlin Dubh i fein, a leamh. Dan chaointe níos fearr nior cumadh o shoin. Agus is fiú go mor an scannan seo a fheiceail

chomh maith cheanna. Deineann an scannan, a fuair ard-mholadh ag Feile Chorcaí, iarracht níos mo a ra faoi an la ata inniu ann na faoi'n 18u Cead. Cuireann an teicnic a usaidtear "Eight and a Half" le Fellini i gcuimhne do dhuine agus nil aon aimhreas ach go mbeidh tionchar ag an scannan seo ar lucht deanta scannan R.T.E. amach anseo. Dala an scell, duine de Gheanna Fiaíne R.T.E. leiritheoir an scannain seo, Bob Quinn. Is maith ata a ghno curtha i gcrích aige.

I nGaeltacht Chonamara a deineadh an scannan seo agus de mhuintir Chonamara 'chulle dhuine a labhrann Gaeilge san scannan. Ni coir go mba cuis oilc do Mhuimhnigh an sceala seo — einne diobh a thuigeann costas scannanaíochta. Sean Ban Breathnach, duine d'fhoireann Radio na Gaeltachta, a ghlacann páirt Art O Laoire. Caitlin Ni Dhonnchu ar Ros a'Mhíl a ghníomhaoinn i bpairt Eibhlin.

Siad na dramadoiri John Arden, Margaretta D'Arcy, Siobhan Ni Shuilleabhain, Pascal Finnan agus Gurney Campbell a ghlacann na príomh pairteanna i mBearla. Dramadoir eile, Eamonn Smullen, a chinn ar an scannan a dheanamh sa chead ait.

An té atá abalta talamh nó sealbhas de short ar bith a cheannacht faoi lathair sa Tuaisceart gheobhfaidh sé é saor agus má bhíonn sé foighdeach ar feadh tamall de bhlianta dheanfaidh sé cnap airgid.

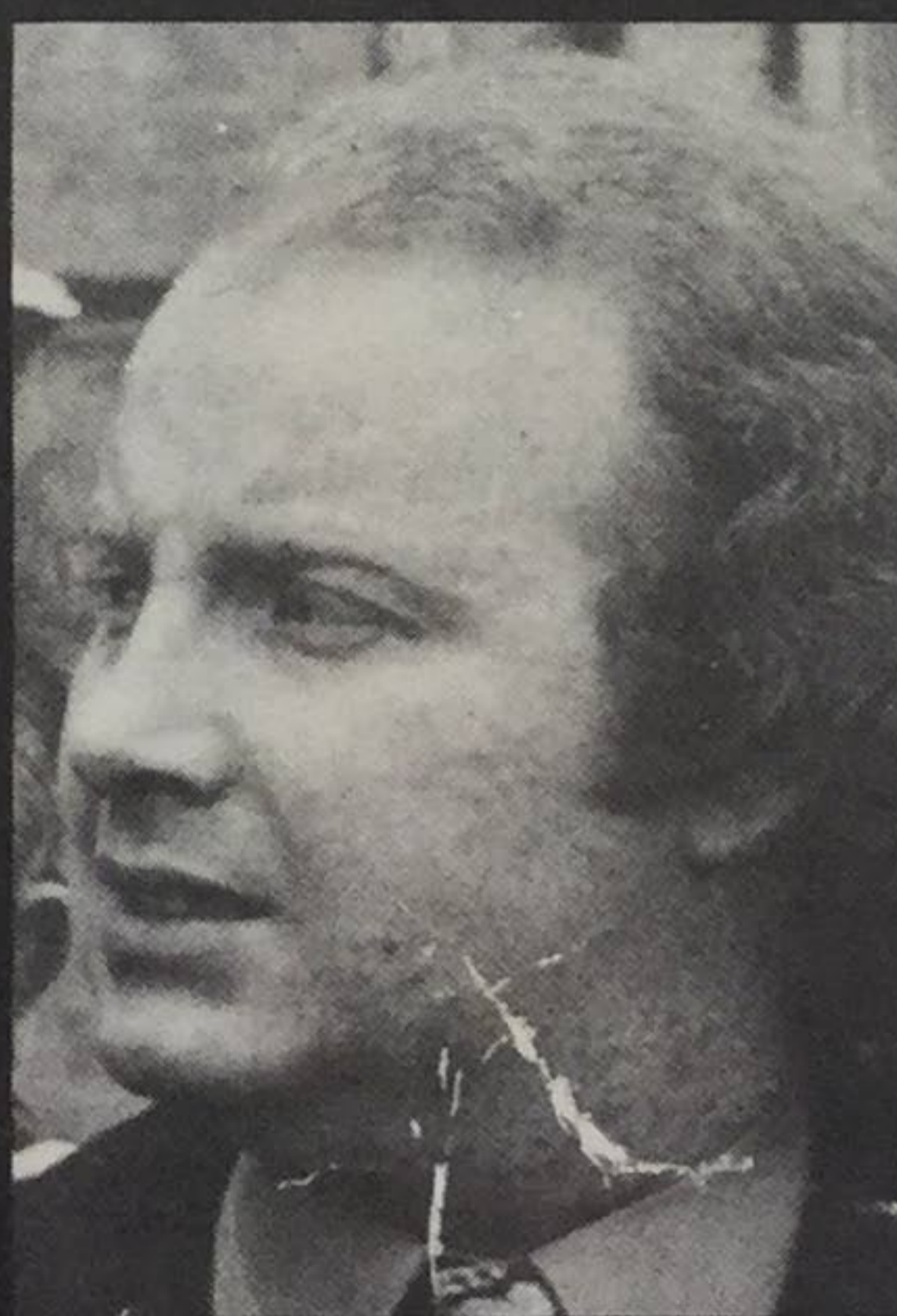
Bhí Cahtal Ó Eachaidh agus a leithéidí ar an obar seo faoi choimirce feachtas buamála na bProvos ach le gairid chuala mé go raibh polaitíoirí an Tuaisceart ar an obar cheanna. Ní hé amháin go bhfuil siad ag iarraidh an sealbhas a fháil saor, ach saor in aisce.

Dhíol Conallach teach le Ivan Cooper tamall ó shoin agus b'éigean do an fear ceanna a thabhairt chun cúirte leis an luach a bhaint as. Ach an Domhnach roimhe lá na cúirte rinneadh an — iarrachtaí dall na mullog a chuir ar an Chonallach.

Chuaigh Iar-Aire de F.F. agus fear darbh leas ainm do an "Sexy Senator" chun cainnte le mo dhuine ag ofrail leath an luach (i seic! — Dé Domhnaigh) do ar shon Ivan.

"Fair play" don Chonallach ní ghlacadh sé le seic no focal na bhfear gaimbín áitiúil. Bhagair mo sheanadóir gnéasúil a chárde Provac air ach níor oibrigh sin ach oiread.

Le linn na caibidile seo bhí Ivan cóir bogtha ag ól Brandy san Abbey Hotel i nDún na Gall, (Dréir a fhir



## TEACH AR DIOL

labhartha bhí sé thar a bheith gnoitheach don LSDP na Sé Condae ag an am) agus gan fhios aige go raibh sé faoi shúile géara na gConallach.

Níor mhair an cás cúirte ach naoi mbomaite agus bhí sporan Ivan níos eadtroma ina dhiaidh.

# ECONOMIC CRISIS

Speaking to a meeting of the Kerry Comhairle Ceanntar in Killarney on Wednesday June 18th on the topic of 'the present economic crisis', Tomas MacGiolla President of Sinn Fein said:

"The sudden recognition by the State of the importance of the Trade Union Movement and the appeals by Government Ministers to the 'responsibility' of Union leaders should put Trade Unionists on their guard. Ministers are conducting a public relations exercise at the moment, the purpose of which is to mould public opinion into a state which will attribute the responsibility for the present economic crisis to the Trade Union Movement and place responsibility for finding a solution to it upon the Trade Union Movement.

"Those who have suffered most from the present economic crisis are Trade Union members. It is Trade Union members who make up the dole queues at Labour Exchanges throughout the country. It is Trade Unionists who have to pay the exorbitant cost of living increases from inflation diminished pay packets and unemployment benefits.

## Agreements

"The present crisis is not one for which Trade Unionists have any responsibility. It is one of the recurring symptoms of the sick capitalist system which seems to hit the 'free' world on every occasion when the war machine of one of the 'free' world nations suffers a reverse. It was admitted as such by the Coalition Cabinet Ministers up to a few weeks ago when they suddenly discovered that the Trade Union Movement was responsible. The crisis in this part of the 'free' world, where the economy is organised for the benefit of the profiteers, contrasts sharply with the situation in the 'unfree' world where the socialist economies, organised in the interests of the people, are buoyant.

"Depressions and booms are features of a capitalist economy. Workers now being asked to make further sacrifices in the face of the present depression, should look back a few years and see how they were faring during the boom. They were then asked to make sacrifices too.

They made them by accepting less than they might have won in three rounds of national wage agreements.

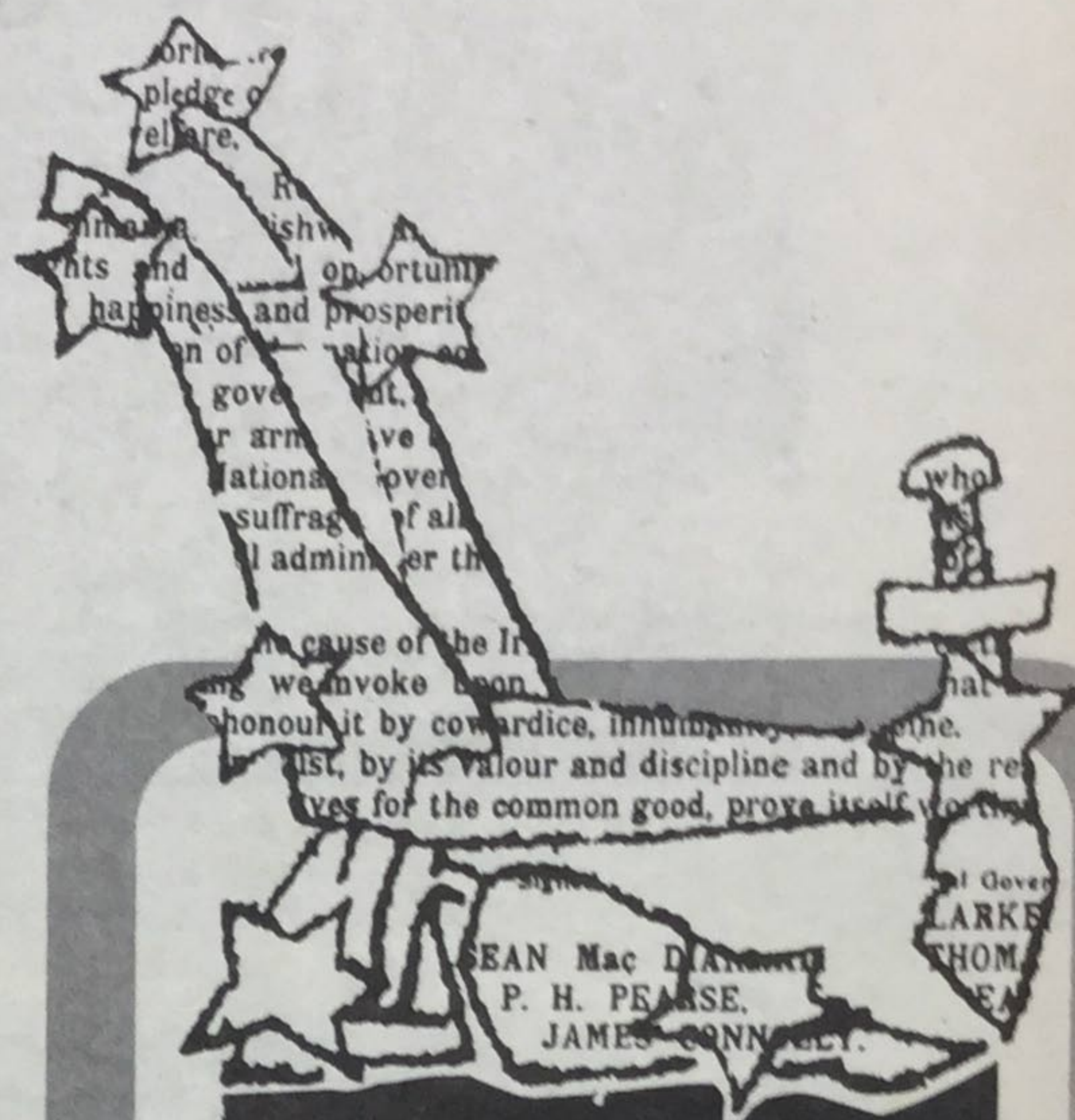
"At the same time enormous profits were made by those in control of all sectors of the economy, particularly the banks. They should ask themselves how these controllers are doing in the present period of depression, the present crisis allegedly brought about by the greediness of the Trade Union Movement.

Evidence of the cynicism and the wellbeing of these controllers appeared in black and white during the week when the Bank of Ireland and Allied Irish Banks both announced record profits. And whether the workers agree or not to making 'sacrifices' this year, it can be safely forecast that in another twelve months the Banks will again be able to announce enormous profits..

"The Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Keating, who is now calling for sacrifices from the workers to save their jobs should be reminded that exactly two years ago, at the behest of the multinationals and despite the EEC Terms of Assession he agreed to allow the 10,000 jobs in the motor assembly industry be removed from under our noses. That all of these jobs have not yet gone is due to the alertness of a handful of Trade Unionists.

"The Minister who surrendered an industry protected under the EEC Terms of Accession is now using other terms of that Treaty of Accession as an excuse for failing to protect other industries, principally the boot and textile industries, from extinction. The Trade Unions will allow themselves to be manipulated by this Minister at their peril.

"Far from capitulating to the cynical appeals from Ministers during the present crisis, workers should, by a display of the power at their disposal, make it clear to the Government that the organisation of the economy which has led to the present crisis must not be allowed to continue and that the Trade Union Movement will resist the operation of an economic structure in the future which is designed only in the interests of those who profit from the labour and the needs of the ordinary men and women.



## Eviction victory

Members of the Central Citizens Advice Bureau of Sinn Fein were responsible, for reinstating a young family in a flat from which they had been forcibly evicted by the landlord, on June 20, 1975.

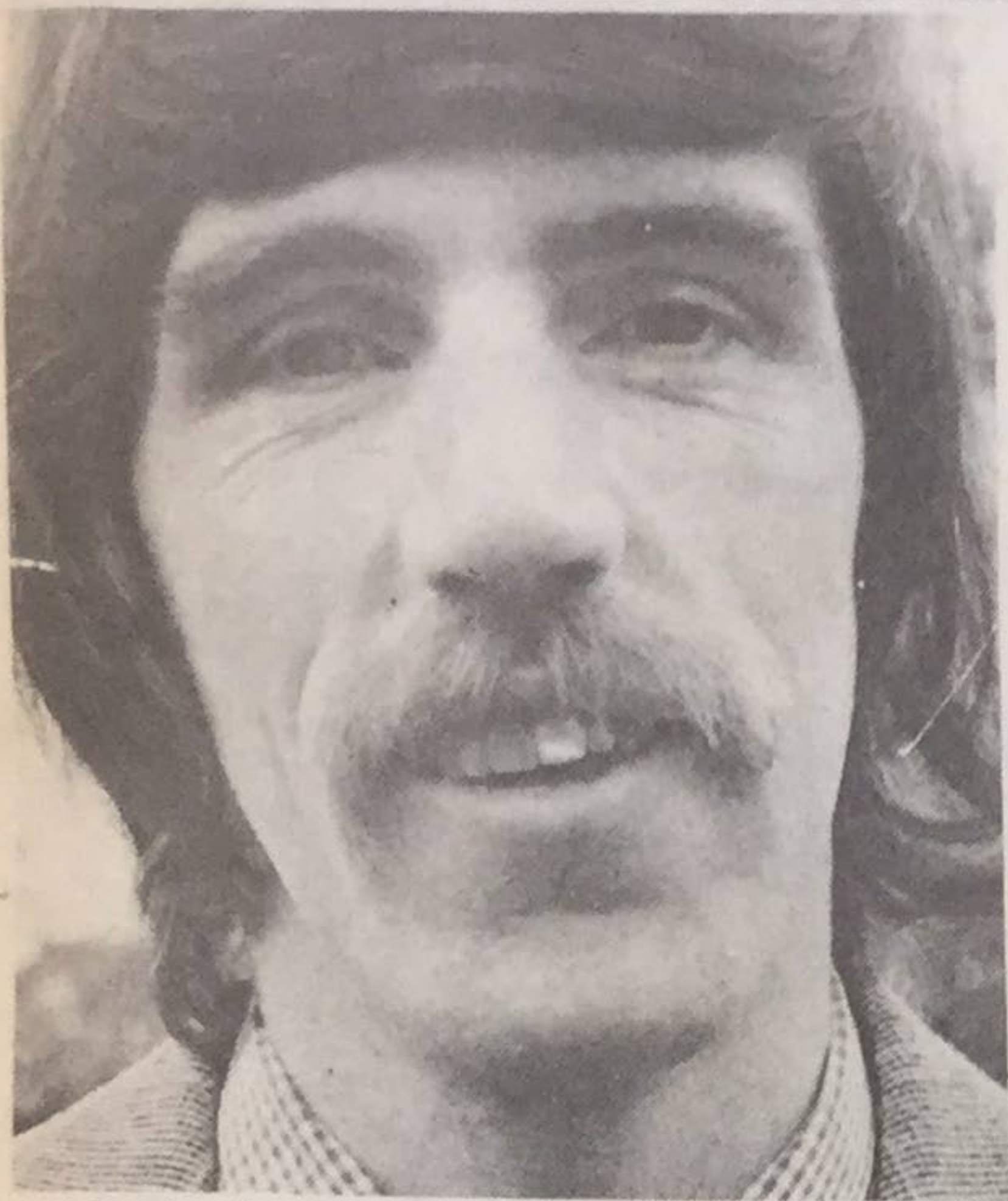
The family — Mr. and Mrs. Farrelley and their two years old son were evicted by the landlord — Mr. Joseph Condron of 9 The Oval, Palmerstown. He had not obtained a court order for vacant possession of the flat and when the young couple moved back he changed the lock on the door when they were out shopping.

On Monday night last, accompanied by members of the C.A.B. the family formally

asked Mr. Condron to allow them access to their flat and furniture. He refused. The Gardai in Lucan were then approached and asked to enforce the family's legal rights. They too refused. The C.A.B. then forcibly opened the front door of the house and reinstated the family in their flat. At this point the Gardai decided that they could come after all and arrived five minutes after the re-entry.

After negotiations the landlord agreed to allow the family free access to their flat until the matter could be decided in the courts. He gave them keys and turned back on the electricity and gas supply. The members of the C.A.B. then withdrew.

**Sinn  
Fein  
Platform**



● Kevin Smyth, Six County Executive of Republican Clubs.



● It was the Civil Rights Association which disarmed the RUC in 1970.

# The B Specials are back

Speaking at the June meeting of the Tyrone Executive of Republican Clubs Councillor Frank McElroy, Carrickmore, said "In recent months the people of Tyrone and Fermanagh have witnessed the return of the B-Specials into the streets of our villages and towns and the roads of our countryside. They have returned in greater numbers, better armed and better paid in the guise of the R.U.C. Reserves."

Councillor McElroy continued "In their ranks they have Ex B-Specials, people who were to the forefront when peaceful civil rights marchers were assaulted and batoned onto the ground and former members of the U.D.R. who were notorious for their behaviour towards members of the minority at road blocks. My analogy of the Reserves and the B-Specials was cemented during the last

election when some Reserves carried their old B-Special Rifles at a road block outside Pomeroy.

He continued: "Already the Reserves have shown that the possibility of them being an impartial police force is utter nonsense by the fact that at road blocks certain people are allowed through unhindered whilst others have their motor vehicles thoroughly checked for motor tax, insurance, tyres, etc.

Councillor McElroy warned "It is only a matter of time before the Reserves imitate their completely discredited predecessors to the full."

Speaking at the same meeting Councillor Eugene Lytle stated: "The R.U.C. in my area have, under the cover of this special unit to combat sectarian killings, brought

back into Coalsland persons who were notorious for their unwarranted disregard for the rights and liberties of the citizens of Coalsland. These so called guardians of law and order have, in recent weeks, been stopping youths in the streets, making them stand legs apart against walls and subjecting them to humiliating searches and verbal abuse."

He concluded "Even though the Provisionsals have a ceasefire it is obvious, especially in Coalsland, that the R.U.C. have none." Councillor McQuaid, Donaghmore, said "The democratic minded people of Tyrone and Fermanagh will never accept the Reserves because they recognise what they are, they are the reincarnation of the B-Specials and likewise they will never accept the

R.U.C. because of its history, both recent and past, and its present activities and in some cases its lack of activity."

He added: "It is only with the establishment of a police service as such as is envisaged by the Republican Clubs in their recently published Policing document that the democratic seeking people in these two counties and in the North, will accept any form of policing. In conclusion Councillor McQuaid said "For a police service to be acceptable to all sections of the community it is also important that all obnoxious and repressive legislation such as the Emergency Provisions Act are wiped off the Statute Books and replaced by a comprehensive Bill of Rights such as that proposed by N.I.C.R.A.

# OPPOSE CIVIL WAR

Speaking in Lurgan on Sunday 8th June at a well-attended meeting of 50 delegates from the N. Armagh Republican Clubs, Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the 6 County Executive and vice-President of Sinn Fein spoke out strongly against those from both sides of the sectarian divide who were seeking to foment civil war in the six Counties. Condemnation must be clearly heard against both the continuing sectarian assassinations of Catholics

by the various Loyalist groups and the latest mindless pub-bombing of Protestants by the Provisional Alliance.

Mr. McGurran stated that the Republican Clubs call for peace does not come at this time as an echo of those neo-unionists who want a return to the pre-1969 situation. Rather do Republican Clubs see peace as the potential basis for creating democratic structures in the North. Therefore, at this crucial time when there was a real danger of a grave and

terrible civil war, which would set the cause of socialism back for generations, it was vitally important that the Republican Clubs intensify the opposition to sectarianism.

The Irish people have the right to demand of the British ruling class that they undo part of the damage they have caused. In the immediate, the key to the situation must be a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland guaranteeing civil and religious liberties, the with-

drawal of troops from working-class areas, the release of all internees and the repeal of all repressive legislation, plus a general amnesty for all offences arising from resistance to British forces or through involvement in the Civil disobedience campaign.

Mr. McGurran concluded by stating that only these basic changes could counter the dangers of growing sectarianism and provide the circumstances to build future community stability in the North.

# Republicans fight for peace

KEVIN SMYTH, Secretary Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, speaking at a meeting of the Co. Fermanagh Republican Clubs in Enniskillen, June 12, 1975, said:

"While the attention, and indeed the hopes, of many people are directed towards the deliberations in the Convention it is very important to remember, irrespective of whether a government emerges from the Convention or Direct Rules continues, the main impetus for change in our

society will have to come from the people themselves.

"It is pressure from people which will dictate the type of legislation which has come in the past from these two sources.

"Legislation can be introduced without the consent of the people. It can be maintained without their support. But the intentions of the legislators can be thwarted by massive and united opposition.

"Only a united campaign will force the ending of in-

terment and of the legislation which permits it - the Special Powers Act and the Emergency Provisions Act. Only a united demand will see the introduction of a proper police service and the disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

"The sustained campaign of the Republican Clubs for the introduction of a Bill of Rights is at last bringing some response. But only united support will pressurise the Convention into demanding, and Westminster into conceding,

this Bill which will secure political and religious freedom for everyone.

"The struggle for equality of citizenship and full civil rights cannot be won by apathy or by opting out. Permanent peace can be guaranteed only when this struggle is won - when the conditions which have given rise to violence are removed. The Republican Clubs are striving for this peace realising that the conditions for it can only be won through non-violent united political action."

# Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people are one people — HO CHI MINH

The Vietnam war is over. All through the 20th century, French, Japanese and American generals have proclaimed the defeat of the people of Vietnam but it was the ordinary people of Vietnam who drive them out in the end.

But it was the French in the middle of the 19th century who held a tight and seemingly permanent grip on the Vietnamese people which lasted over 80 years. The real meaning of French colonialism in Vietnam was expressed at a rally marking independence in 1945. "For more than 80 years the French imperialists have been abusing the standard of liberty, equality and fraternity, have violated our fatherland and oppressed our fellow citizens. They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have fettered public opinion . . . In the fields of economics they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land. They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests and our raw materials." Although the French declared the Vietnamese ripe for servitude in 1867, resistance continued and the French hold in the 20th century became more and more dependent on the active support of the Americans.

After the people's revolution in 1945, the People's Republic of

Vietnam was set up with Ho Chi Minh elected president, receiving 98.4% of the votes cast by 90% of the population in the entire country. In a frantic attempt to retain its colony, the French seized Saigon and set up a puppet government over three provinces in the south of the country.

## Eisenhower

Organised resistance to this move took place throughout the country and in 1954 the Geneva Agreement was signed. According to this agreement the Viet-Minh (anti-French forces) withdrew to the North of the country with the promise of a nationwide election in 1956 at which time Vietnam was to be unified. Not only did the French, with the military aid of the United States, start a one-sided offensive against the unarmed people of the south, but the elections promised never took place. The then American president, Eisenhower admitted that if the election had taken place, Ho Chi Minh would surely have won. This the American government could not afford to see happen.

With the peoples struggles in China and Korea finding success, the United States and her allies became more and more insecure, seeing these developments as a threat to their way of life.

Had the U.S. not ignored the

Geneva Agreement in 1954, she would have saved the lives of millions of Vietnamese and hundreds of billions of dollars. Successive American generals and their government made the mistake of constantly underestimating and despising their Vietnamese adversaries. They had faith in machines — not in men and women and especially not in the ordinary Vietnamese people.

Ho Chi Minh stated it quite clearly when he said, "Vietnam is one country. Rivers may dry up and mountains may be eroded, but this truth will not change." The Vietnamese were asking to be left alone to determine the way in which they would develop their own country. They had chosen Ho Chi Minh to lead their country to a more prosperous and egalitarian future than they had experienced under the French. The American government, ignoring the wishes of the Vietnamese people and responding to her own fears about the possibility of revolution in her own country, poured 2.3 billion dollars into building up the military of the much despised puppet government in the south, the government of President Diem.

## Suppression

The people on the whole live in the countryside and did not benefit from this influx of financial aid. This coupled with the repressive regime of the US backed Diem, contributed to the growing discontent of the people of South Vietnam. Diem ran a very authoritarian regime. He placed his own relatives in positions of power and abolished the elected village governments. He treated opposition as disloyalty, conducted manhunt against dissidents, established political re-education camps and conducted an extensive programme of re-location of the population.

By this was meant that he moved people into different strategic areas and fortified their villages by surrounding them with barbed wire fences and ditches filled with bamboo spikes which he claimed was for the protection of the countryside. In fact the South Vietnamese people were living in concentration camps like those condemned by the US in World War II and successfully prevented from learning about life in the North of their own country.

Diem was installed by the French but it was the Americans who kept him in power and time and time again bailed him out of trouble. It was the Americans who advised and supported him in his decision to ignore the Geneva Agreement. Almost 20 years later after signing another agreement with the Vietnamese, it was the Americans directly who were to ignore its terms. It is well to look at the dishonourable behaviour of the American government and realise the reasons for it.

One of the principal goals of American foreign policy has been the suppression of insurgent

movements. Implementation of this objective has been in the form of assistance programmes, most of the funds for which have gone towards pacification programmes, support for local police and above all, military aid to the local army. This support was designed to strengthen the hand of the government acceptable to the United States and to put down the challenge of revolution.

To the American government these insurgent movements were communist controlled and they quite seriously feared a world-wide communist conspiracy. Part of their attack against this threat was to instil mass hysteria in the people of the world about communism. To the American government and their big business backers, this fear was very concrete. While on the one hand American involvement in Southeast Asia stemmed from an arrogance of power, or as the US President Johnson put it in 1965, "History and our own achievements have thrust upon us the principal responsibility for the protection of the freedom of the earth"; there was a very definite purpose for re-making the world in their own image.

Vietnam was a testing ground for US counter-insurgency tactics. While on the one hand telling the people of the world that they were involved in Vietnam to save the people from communism and teach them how to elect good government, in reality they helped place their own men in power, prevented public elections from taking place, and as for saving the people . . . In 1972 it was estimated by Americans themselves that in this "salvation" process, bomb loads amounting to six million tons had been dropped on the Vietnamese people.

## Defoliation

This means 150 kilograms of bombs to every Vietnamese, from little children to helpless old people. These bomb strikes are equivalent in destructive power to 300 atomic bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima, and is far more than the total bomb load dropped by the United States during World War II on Nazi Germany, Japan and their allies.

At the same time the U.S. conducted chemical warfare on the Vietnamese people on a scale without precedent in human history. In the end before they left, the US gutted and devastated Vietnam with bombs and napalm and turned it into a wasteland by chemical defoliation. Ho Chi Minh once commented that the word "My" had two opposite meanings — beautiful and — America.

In economic terms Vietnam never met the predictions of American big business who had claimed that the war in the south had enhanced the "economic growth potential" of the country. The prospects of cheap labour, fertile land and abundant forests and a wealth in undiscovered oil off its coasts were never exploited as the Americans had hoped due to the continual alienation of the



CAMBODGE VIETNAM LAOS  
VICTOIRE

# The United WORLD

population towards the US backed Saigon government.

From the very beginning Diem's soldiers committed atrocities against the people. Committees in their defence and in defence of the Geneva Agreement were set up around the countryside as a result. Actual armed resistance began in 1959 and in 1960 the National Liberation Front (NLF) was formed out of the various resistance groups in the south. Its programme was based on the NLF principle that "in every respect — historical, geographical, economic, cultural, social and national, our country is a single country which was constructed with the toil and struggle of

sacrifice made by Americans. American magazine articles are speculating on 'How we could have won the war,' instead of posing the question, 'Should Americans have been involved in the first place.' The hysterical speculations of mass murders and impending blood baths should the Americans pull out, have just not materialised.

The American Embassy in Saigon issued reports of massacres and a blood bath list which the NLF was supposed to have compiled. The NEW YORK TIMES reported in its headline "Communists Accused of Atrocities" and in a small sub heading, "But Allegation reported by US Embassy in Saigon are un-

running away from the NLF.

The real explanation for these pictures are that in the past, the zones about to be liberated or newly liberated were subjected to intensive bombing, destruction by fire, razing by bulldozers, massacres by the Saigon forces and all for the purposes of depriving the people of any hope of a normal life after liberation. The population is left without any means of existence and is often transferred to zones still controlled by Saigon. There they are frequently packed into refugee camps to be used both as human shield for the military bases and as a reserve of fresh troops for the Saigon Army.

News reports stressed only the chaos and disorder, the confusion and the movement of refugees. In many cities, however, the liberation process was speeded up by the orderly organisation of the people in the villages and cities who did not wait for the entrance of the Liberation forces.

These People's Organisations were in existence for 30 years and sprang into operation whenever the need arose. There were old people's organisations who sheltered and fed the advance units, children's organisations to spy out enemy positions and guide guerilla fighters to their targets; workers' organisations whose function it was to transport supplies and prepare combat positions; student organisations who did propaganda work among the population and 'persuasion' work among the puppet troops.

## Orphans

The hypocrisy and lies of the Americans reached their climax in the forcible kidnapping of Vietnamese children described by one witness as the "ultimate indignity" committed against the Vietnamese people.

"Operation Orphans" was the brainchild of US Ambassador Graham Martin who calculated that the arrival of "orphans" would help to create a shift in American public opinion in favour of Saigon. It would further give the idea that the

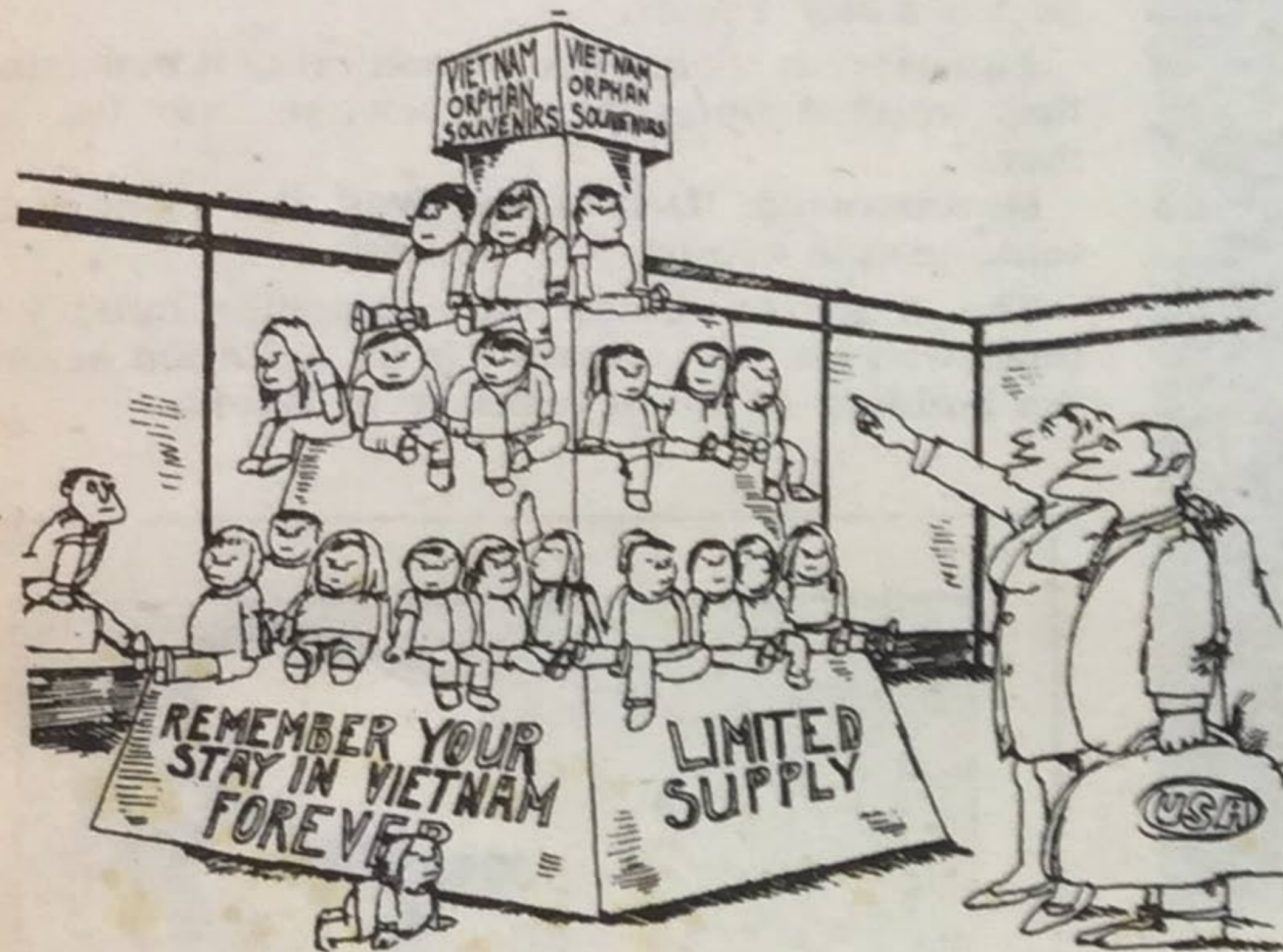
publicity stunt in recent times and for a while, it worked. Newspapers and magazines featured pictures of departing babies, surrounded by ominous happy faces. Then the publicity bubble burst.

A large cargo carrier transporting over 300 Vietnamese children crashed, killing at least 200 of them. Evidence showed that safety precautions had been disregarded, in order to meet the publicity timetable. American personnel and embassy staff who were sitting in the seats in the front of the plane all survived. The children who were stuffed in the cargo compartment did not have a chance.

## Victory

The final crack in this publicity scheme came when it was discovered that these children, were not most of them, orphans at all. Many of the children in Vietnamese orphanages were put there by their parents who were too poor to take care of them, but who visit them often. 2/3 of the children in Vietnamese orphanages have relatives and 50% have one living parent. Whereas these children should be united with their families in their own country, they have been transported half way around the world against their will and the will of their families for propaganda purposes. It is hypocritical for war makers who orphaned 80,000 Vietnamese children, who forcible uprooted millions from their homes and who for years, fought a war of annihilation to pose now as the pious saviour of these children.

Americans spent 150 billion dollars in the Vietnam War and the lives of hundreds of thousands of their men. They even gunned down her own students protesting against American aggression in southeast Asia on an American university campus. In the end, American soldiers were refusing to fight, were turning their own guns on the officers who commanded them into battle, and testified against themselves in America in order to expose and accuse the United States of grotesque war crimes and



"That one would look nice in the den."

generations of our ancestors and which in the final analysis no power can divide."

The aim of the NLF was to unite all sectors of the population to overthrow the US-Diem Regime; set up a unified, national, democratic government; achieve peace, independence, neutrality, freedom and democracy and to move towards reunification.

In 1969 the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) was formed to administer the NLF controlled areas, to lead and unify the military and political forces struggling against the Saigon regime and US intervention and to represent the people at the Paris Peace Negotiations. The PRG began by developing organisation and government in the liberated areas, setting up village clinics and schools, organising mechanisation on the farms and reclaiming the land. This high degree of organisation, activity and progress in the liberated areas helped prepare the people for the final victory and offered an alternative to the rest of South Vietnam.

## Atrocities

The success of the NLF and the growing isolation of the Diem regime from its people, led the Americans to instigate a coup against Diem during which he and his brother were killed. However, successive Saigon governments pasted together with American dollars, advised and directed by the American military, continued to alienate the population.

The Americans would have the world believe otherwise about the People's victory in Vietnam. Different "explanations" are being offered. President Ford is trying to place the blame on the American Congress for not allowing him to send 755 million dollars in emergency military assistance and an additional 250 million dollars (by the way) in humanitarian aid. The Pentagon is still talking about the conquest by the Communists and the

confirmed." Another effort was made by the US Embassy to call up the memory of the Hue Massacre which the Americans tried to blame on the NLF in 1968. At that time, reports accompanied by horrific photographs appeared in the newspapers, around the world.

These reports were issued by the Tenth Political Warfare Battalion of the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam, (The Saigon Government) whose job it was to discredit the NLF without regard to the truth. According to this report the NLF deliberately and systematically murders not only responsible officials, but religious figures, the educated elite and ordinary people. A burial site was dug up where 3000 bodies were displayed to the "appropriate" witnesses. Photographers and reporters were refused a view of the "massive graves." The Vietnam Press reported that almost half the victims were buried alive.

A Canadian medical team who were present at the viewing reported that all the bodies displayed wounds. This would seem to confirm the reports of nearby villagers who reported that, in the days preceding the Hue Massacre, the US conducted a heavy bombing, shelling, and strafing in the area. An advisor to the then President Johnson with access to information as a high Dept. of Defence official wrote, that in the recapture of Hue, 80% of the buildings were reduced to rubble and that in the smashed ruins lay 2,000 dead civilians.

## Massacres

Perhaps the largest propaganda campaign waged against the Vietnamese people was over the issue of refugees, in particular the kidnapping of Vietnamese children. In the last days of the war, magazines like TIME and NEWSWEEK and national papers around the world ran photographs of Vietnamese mothers and children running in tearful chaos, the implication being that they were



● Ho Chi Minh with young admirers.

Vietnamese were against the National Liberation forces and provide a pretext for American intervention. The American Congress had refused to grant any further assistance to the Saigon Government. The Saigon forces were deserting at a phenomenal rate, while the victories of the NLF increased.

The American Congress said "no" to military aid but accepted the offer of Vietnamese babies, almost as souvenirs of the American experience in Vietnam. "When these children land," said Ambassador Martin, "They will be subject to television, radio, and press agency coverage, the effect will be tremendous." It was the biggest

genocide against the people of Indochina.

From the American government point of view, Vietnam was not a mistake. It was a cold blooded attempt by the United States Government to suppress the Vietnamese people. However, technology could not destroy the human spirit.

The Americans had hoped to prevent the inevitable inspiration that the victory of the Vietnamese people would give to people struggling all over the world. We, in Ireland, must look to the nobility and bravery of the Vietnamese people and renewing our own strength and for the hard struggle ahead of us.

# AGAINST POLLUTION

**Ireland  
needs  
these  
jobs**

When the oil refinery in Dublin is in full production (if the Dublin workers' demand that it be built is successful) about 300 workers will be employed there on a permanent basis. Over 2,000 building workers will be required for about three years in order to build the refinery.

Jobs for 2,000 building workers in Dublin at this time is, without doubt, something to be welcomed. It is for this reason, as well as the gain to the national economy, that the trade unions support the building of a refinery in Dublin.

A really big building site in Dublin would do wonders for trade union organisation. The big jobs in the cities, London especially, radicalised the building unions in Britain. A three year run on one site with a large labour force and the building unions in Dublin could be set on a progressive course.

The new refinery will produce, among other products, Naphta; this is the raw material for Glycol from which man-made fibre yarns are made.

An oil refinery in Dublin would create many jobs in addition to those directly concerned with the refinery.



## FIGHT THE OIL RACKETEERS

The people who are now exercising themselves in order to prevent the building of an oil refinery in Dublin Bay profess to be very concerned about the loss to the people of Dublin of what they describe as an amenity. What they are talking about is 300 acres beside the Pigeon House power station, an area now a Corporation tip. A few more chimneys and tanks would also be added to an already cluttered skyline.

A power station has been built on the site of the Pigeon House Fort, an old British fort built to defend the entrance to Dublin Harbour. Until the late 1920's there was a pleasant area beside the Fort. It was known as The Shelly Banks but they were swept away one night during a particularly high spring tide. The Dublin Corporation are now working to recover this area from the sea by dumping some of the refuse of Dublin on it.

Ireland does not possess the capacity to refine our energy needs on the National territory; we do have the capacity in Cork to refine half our energy needs.

From an industrial point-of-view and also for reasons of national independence it is necessary in the shortest possible space of time to build an oil refinery which will give us the capacity to refine our present and future energy needs on the national territory and to find an alternative source of oil

supplies. The special importance of the proposed new oil refinery is that it will refine Soviet oil, an alternative source of supply to the Anglo-American oil companies. All our oil supplies, with the exception of some residual fuel oil burned by the ESB, come from Anglo-American oil companies. These companies are among the most powerful capitalist interests on earth.

When our own oil and natural gas comes ashore the oil companies will wish to ship this valuable raw material out of the country as crude oil. Obviously, this crude oil should be the basis of a petro-chemicals industry in Ireland. We should refine our crude oil to obtain the residual fuel oil to generate our electricity, petrol for our transport and the Naphta for our petro-chemical and man-made fibre industry.

If we do not possess on the national territory capacity to refine our energy needs independent of the Anglo-American oil companies, then they will say that a petro-chemicals industry in Ireland is not a realistic proposition. They will use the same argument that is now being used by the Tara mining company in relation to ore from the Navan mine — that they must send it out of the country because we do not have a smelter on the national territory. This is why there are now over 100,000 out of work.

Sandymount Strand is in the news. The local people fear, it is claimed, that the building of an oil refinery at the Pigeon House will mean that the strand will be polluted and that the people living in the area will be deprived of an amenity which they have enjoyed until this day.

Sandymount strand used to extend to the edge of Ringsend Park but the Dublin Corporation then started to fill in this end of the strand with rubbish collected all over Dublin. Anyone who was in or around that area in the 1930's or 40's will remember the smell of the corporation dump.

The method of getting rid of refuse from the area before that time, into the early 1930's in fact, was to burn the rubbish in a power-station in South Lotts Road. The chimney was not very high and the smoke from it, untreated by any of the modern fittings in chimneys, blew wherever the wind carried it across Sandymount, out over the bay, across Dublin.

There was another chimney on the Bottle Works, which was within five minutes walk of the strand. Beside the Bottle Works — well, about another three minutes from the strand — there was, and it is still there, the Gas Company works. The Hammond Lane Foundry was closed down just over a year ago. The Foundry chimney was so low that the flames could be seen flickering out from the top on almost any night of the week — day or night in fact.

Just south of the tower in Sandymount, out on the strand, is the ruins of old swimming baths. The baths are not in working order; they have not been in working order since early in this century; they are a collector of sea-weed, stinking sea-weed.

I remember being asked by a Corkman, whom I met out of Dublin, if Sandymount could be classed as a sea-side resort.

I answered: 'Some people don't like it now, since they started pumping the sewage into the sea there'.

He answered: 'Don't they! Well, there's no doubt some people are hard to please'.

The Anglo-American oil companies must love those who are now engaged in an agitation against the building of an oil refinery in Dublin.



## Join the Republican Movement

We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.

We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.

We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.

We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.

We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Further information available to prospective members at the following addresses.

ULSTER: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. 12, Republican Club, 28 St. James's Street, Derry.

MUNSTER: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay, Cork. F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Killeely, Limerick. P. O'Callaghan, Cromane Killorglin Co. Kerry. An Runai, 113 The Quay, Waterford.

LEINSTER: Sinn Fein Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Rd., Bray.

CONNAUGHT: Paddy Kilcullen Kilmore, Bothar an Sop, Ballina, Co. Mayo. An Runai 35-37 Dominic Street, Galway.

I Wish to Join the Republican  
Movement

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_