

United Irishman

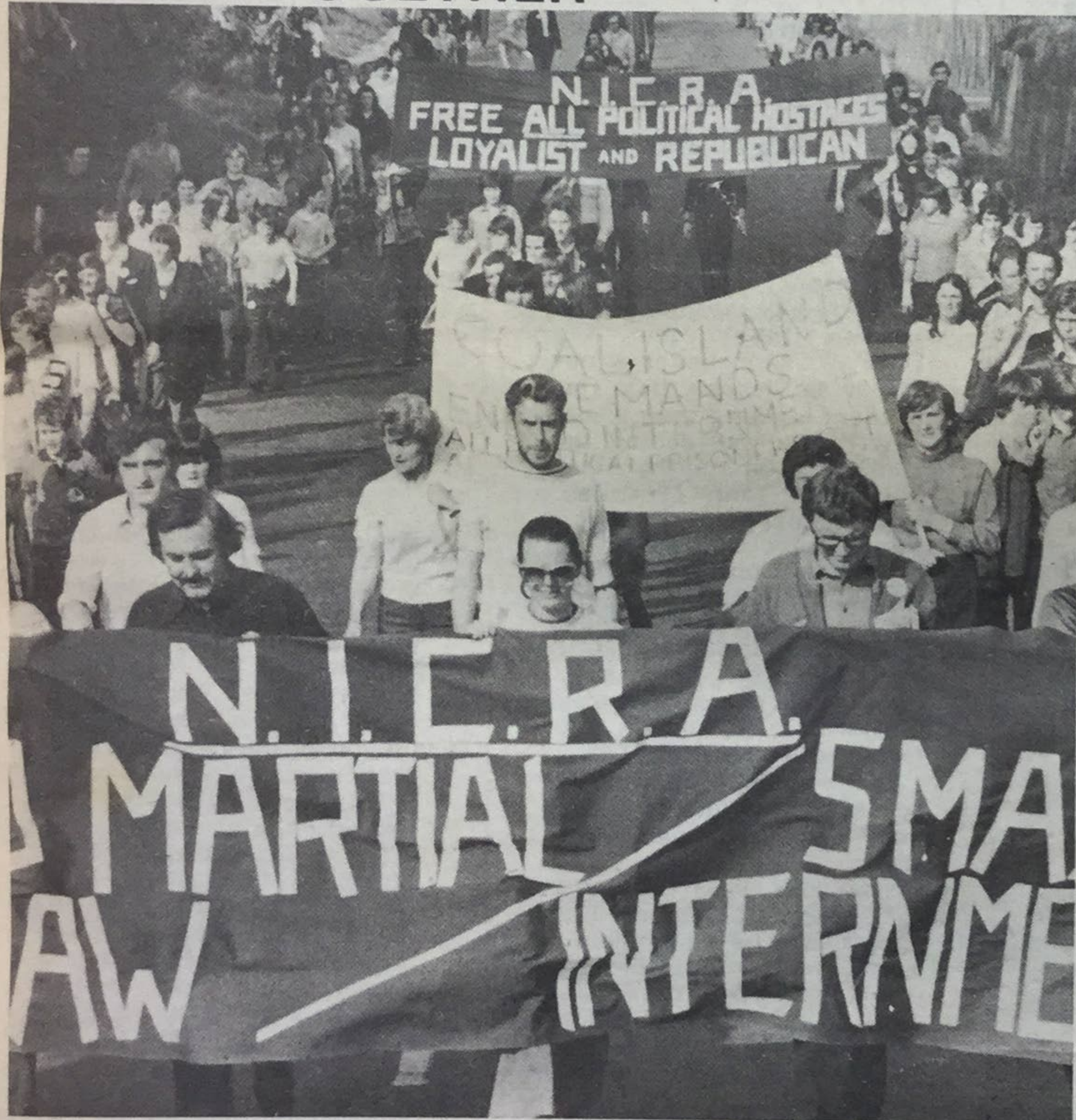
AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

MEITHEAMH (JUNE) 1975 • XXXIII • VI • 10p. (30c.)

JOB CRISIS GROWS MORE FIRMS COLLAPSE

See pages 8 & 9

MARCH TOGETHER



WORK TOGETHER WIN TOGETHER

Civil rights answer to civil war

The continued horrible growth in the numbers of sectarian killings, the noisy belligerence of Vanguard leader Bill Craig, the calls for UDI all are increasing the fears of an impending civil war in the North. Politics is receding further into the background as wild demands are made on all sides.

But as Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein pointed out in Armagh on Sunday, June 1, "As British political control over the North rests firmly in the hands of the British Government, they must bear the responsibility for finding a solution.

"Thus whether the Convention produces a majority report, a majority and minority report or even a consensus report, it is ultimately only the British Government which has the power to take the steps necessary to bring peace, democracy and community reconciliation to the area. The day that this happens seems no nearer.

"Not for the first time have British reactionaries used Ireland as a recruiting and training ground for the furtherance of their policies in Britain. History seems again to be repeating itself. The failure of the British Labour Government to implement democratic policies such as introducing a comprehensive Bill of Rights as is demanded by both the Trade Union and Civil Rights Movements, coupled with their failure to reform the R.U.C. has allowed the Unionist monolith to

be re-established around the demand for the restoration of the Orange ascendancy".

Mr. Mac Giolla concluded, "Now the British Conservative Party, itself lurching well to the right is moving towards the establishment of an alliance with the UUUC. The consequences of this would be disastrous not only for the Irish people but also for the British."

For most people in the North, the "consequences" are talked about in terms of a bloody and horrible civil war. The Armageddon mentality is spreading alarmingly, aided it would seem by not only the actions of the sectarian killers but a planned rumour campaign among the "power sharers".

While the future in the North seems bleak, to surrender to doomsday feelings is exactly what the enemies of peace and democratic progress want. Now more than ever must the forces of the left unite to prevent the possibility of a civil war becoming a horrific reality.

This
Month

CONVENTION BLUES

NATURAL RESOURCES

INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN'S YEAR

BODENSTOWN
THEN AND NOW

H.M. Prison, Parkhurst, Nr. Newport, Isle of Wight.

LETTERS

Comrades,

I have been concerned for some time by the possible affects of the phenomenon known as the I.R.S.P. and the serious damage which is being done to the Republican Movement to the advantage of the British.

Confused and isolated in Parkhurst as I am, I am forced to rely on reports and news from the mainly bourgeois press. Nevertheless it is possible to detect what appears to be serious errors of theory and practice on the part of the I.R.S.P.

The I.R.S.P. say they are a political party. A political party is a grouping together of members of a class and their allies with the object of taking power. But the I.R.S.P. say, and I quote "we are in the business not to come to power, not of creating a workers state". (I. Times 25/4/75).

But surely there is a contradiction here for I do not see how they can be a political party and not be interested in coming to power. And if they are not interested in coming to power first what are they interested in. (I place no significance on the use of the word business except to say it is an unfortunate choice of word). Well perhaps we shall see.

The I.R.S.P. say "we are the only party with the correct attitude to the relationship between the nation and class questions". Yet when asked if the I.R.S.P. is a Marxist or Marxist-Leninist the answer comes back "Marxist". But Leninism is Marxism of the era of Imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Does this mean to suggest that Leninism is irrelevant to present day conditions in Ireland, does this mean to suggest that Imperialism is not the main enemy in Ireland, does this mean to suggest that the enormous wealth of experience built up and paid for with so much blood should all be discarded with the word Leninism.

Surely they cannot be saying that Leninism has nothing to offer on the relationship between the national and class questions. But, perhaps this is precisely what they are saying!

Now I believe that it is important to analyse carefully what they say but far more important is an analysis of what they do. It appears that the I.R.S.P. has attracted to itself a military wing which is defined as armed support and any military line depends on the political line which it expresses. But the "political" line clearly states that there is no desire to come to power, so what then can be the reason for assassinating life-long Republicans and Socialists and the attempted assassination of others who have given years of service to the Movement.

I can't help remembering that Littlejohn was sent to Ireland by the British

Ruling Class with clear orders to murder the leaders of the Republican Movement and it appears that the I.R.S.P. is engaged in carrying on this work which Littlejohn, due to circumstances beyond his control, is unable to complete.

Is the lack of desire to come to power due to the fact that they are acting as agents of the imperialists who are already in power? The British Ruling Class, the Unionist Party in its various manifestations and the Irish Gombeens are all agreed on one thing which they have stated over and over and over again. "The most dangerous long term enemy of British Imperial interests in Ireland is the "Official" Republican Movement".



Liam McMillen, murdered by I.R.S.P.

Can it be coincidental that at a time of the greatest ever crisis of imperialism that these divisions appear in the Republican Movement - the imperialists know very well that they cannot prevail against a united Republican Movement and so they seek by one means or another to divide it.

It is possible to have a United Republican Movement - it is not necessary that all should share similar ideological loyalties. We can have unity without without uniformity. We can unite around a principled struggle for national independence and anti-imperialism.

I think the time has come to say we have had enough divisions which only help the imperialists, we have had enough of political contraceptives who seek to deny the birth of revolutionaries.

The time has come for us to say: We are engaged in the conquest of political power - we are engaged in creating a worker's state - we are revolutionaries and we will make a revolution.

Finally, shouting socialism a thousand times will not bring socialism into existence nor will calling yourself socialist make you so.

It is as well now and again to remember the National Socialist Party of Germany.

With kindest regards and comradesly greetings. Noel Jenkinson, Venceremos.

★ ★ ★

Comrades,

We send you our most heartfelt regrets. Today is the anniversary of Norway as an independent state. Yesterday we received the news that another two

OPEN THE GATES

LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS

- H. Trainor, 5 years
D. Russell, 6 years
J. Goodman, 8 years
G. Loughlin, 12 years
E. McQuillan, 3 years
F. Weil, 10 years
J. J. McAuley, 5 years
T. McGarry, 8 years
P. O'Hare, 7 years
M. Mallon, 7 years
M. Donnelly, 5 years
H. Macklin, 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
H. 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. McCathery, 8 years
D. Lagan, 4 years
K. Higgins, 6 years
C. Window, 6 years
L. McAnoy, Life
B. McDermott, 15 months.

- P. J. Kelly, life
M. Lambert, 5 years
T. Russell, 5 years
J. Smith, 10 years
J. Higgins, 6 years
R. Steenson, 4 years
J. Tansley, 4 years
R. Hassan, 7 years.

- L. Lynch
H. Stewart
D. Knecker
J. McCann
E. Meek
D. McGeough

LONG KESH DEAINED

- 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.

LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS

- J. Kearney
J. O'Neill
A. Clarke
K. McLoughlin
P. O'Connor
J. Clarke
C. Brady
T. McDermott
P. Griffin
P. Smith
T. A. Breen
A. McDonagh
B. Toal
S. Hannon
L. Cort
J. McGuinness
A. Reading
W. Campbell
T. McDonald



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CABHAIR

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Funds urgently needed for:

- Republican Prisoners Welfare
Legal Aid
Aid for their Dependants
Noel Jenkinson Strasbourg Appeal

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED

members of the Republican Movement have been murdered by those agents of British Imperialism, the IRSP. We cannot express our sorrow on hearing this. One of them a young man whose only crime was selling the United Irishman, the other the gallant Liam McMillen.

Even here in Norway people have heard of the bravery of Liam MacMillen. By killing him the IRSP have decisively proved themselves the hirelings of Imperialism that they are. Please send our condolences to his family and to the family of Paul Crawford.

The solidarity movement here in Norway stands firmly behind you and against the IRSP.

Sean Fox, Paul Crawford and Liam MacMillen. The names shall be remembered by the revolutionary movement all over the world. The name of the organisation that killed them will also be remembered, with disgust and hatred.

On behalf of Ireland- fronton, Norway, Ken Jackson, Secretary.

Many other tributes to the members of the Movement murdered in Belfast have arrived at Head office from all parts of the world. Unfortunately we cannot print them all. But we feel that readers would like to know that a special commemoration was held in New York at which the oration was delivered by Liam Kelly, formerly of County Tyrone.

Editor.

Third Annual Commemoration
DESSIE MACKEN
21st June.
Assemble Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.
11.30 a.m.
Prominent Speakers.

Large Newry march

Over 1,500 people took part in the first annual McAlinden-Rowntree commemoration in Newry, Sunday May 18. Wreaths were laid on the Republican Plot and at the McAlinden family grave. Following a two minutes silence and the playing of the Last Post, the oration was delivered by Des O'Hagan, Director of Education, Sinn Fein.

Mr. O'Hagan claimed that Martin McAlinden and Coleman Rowntree were killed "deliberately and cold bloodedly so that the Irish people would fear, would cease to demand the right to claim this country in its entirety for their own."

"We who desire the total unrestricted freedom of the Irish people would seem indeed to be in dark days. Not only politically but also economically does it seem that our people are being crushed into the ground,

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● Cllr. N. Collins lays a wreath at the Newry Republican Plot.

helpless in the face of that monstrous alien ideology, capitalism — the exploitation of man by man, theft by the few from the labour of the many.

"Almost 150,000 Irish men and women forced out of work because the control of our means of production is in the hands of foreign and native exploiters.

"Is this what the men of every generation died for? Is this the meaning of Easter Week? Was the Proclamation which told of cherishing all our children equally, of placing the ownership of Ireland in the hands of the people of Ireland only so much rhetoric, so much meaningless nonsense?" Mr. O'Hagan asked.

"There are some who would have us believe so. At the moment they have control of State power, of the mass media, of the schools, of the universities, of the wealth created by the Irish people.

"It is our determination, our purpose, as it was Coleman's and Martin's, to wrest those powers from them and to establish the Irish working class as the only power in this country.

"That is the sole task of the Republican Movement. It is to change the course of history with the support of the architects of our history, the working people of Ireland.

"For us as for all genuine national liberation organisations whether in Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau or Mozambique, independence is only really meaningful if we have full control of the means of creating wealth of our entire economy," Mr. O'Hagan concluded.

In defence of working farmers

is the title of the Farmers Defence Association's latest pamphlet. Outlines the association's comprehensive policy particularly in relation to Land structure, Livestock and Pig Industries. Price 10p. Fully off-set printed.

The previous pamphlet, **The FARM MODERNISATION SCHEME — WHAT IT REALLY MEANS** is now almost completely sold out. Limited supplies available. Price 20p.

WHY NOT SELL copies of the above pamphlets? Full details from: The Farmers Defence Association, 8 Belvedere Place, Dublin 1.

British steel melts

"It was a good day on the Stock Exchange, with a share value rise of 22 points", expresses one view of the Budget presented by Dennis Healey on Tuesday, April 15th, 1975.

"The Cabinet is acting as stretcher-bearer to the ailing Capitalist system" (Dennis Skinner, Labour M.P.) represents a totally different view of the same budget.

This was a budget calculated to impress the Outside World and is especially welcomed by the other members of the E.E.C. The message is loud and clear. The Labour Government is not afraid to court unpopularity among the mass of workers, and shows no intention of restricting imports or of curbing the rising tide of unemployment.

While Healey admits that his measures will cost 20,000 workers their jobs, there is little attempt to discount the grim prospects for the rest of 1975. While some optimists are already foretelling "boom" next year, car industry chiefs see no hope of real improvement in their field for at least two years. Indeed, Leylands are now leading the queue, cap in hand, for the financial help needed to tide them over the intervening period. Shades of Private Enterprise!

The cuts in Public Expenditure can only hasten the march to the milllion, as local authorities find it necessary to shed labour while absorbing further cuts on what is already, financially, a skeletal frame. Those experts who "can skin a flea" will be much in demand.

The Steel Industry, (Public Sector) which has been struggling since the three-day week, 1974, is now preparing for massive lay-offs and extended short-time working. Losses are now running into tens of millions of pounds and between now and early June, desperate measures will be invoked, drastic reductions in Contract Work — tougher buying policies — large-scale redundancies — the classic answers to the crisis, which themselves will tend to worsen the situation.

Meanwhile, the cost-conscious Coal Board now seems to be basking in the sunshine of success. While the higher level of productivity would appear to demonstrate the correctness of the policy of those who fought for the higher earnings scale, one wonders what Britain intends to do with the mountains of coal that no one will want, and no one can buy by the end of 1975.

Economic problems cannot be solved by wage cuts, by redundancies, by short-time working. Whatever the effects of these measures, workers will still feel, as always, that they are entitled to defend their standards of living. Large-scale battles can be expected on the wages front as those workers who still have jobs, try to recoup their losses. By October, Mr. Healey, if he is still there, may find it necessary to commence applying the time-honoured measures used to increase demand for consumer goods, and so start the curve of unemployment, once more on the downward swing.

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We regret having to withdraw the order list for Long Kesh goods. We hope to provide an alternative list shortly, which will also include material made by political prisoners in Portlaoise.

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ADDRESS

PROGRESS

To some it may seem unrealistic to suggest that this year could be the transition period from mindless militarism to possible political progress. But the fact of the end, however temporary, of the Provisional campaign, has provided the majority of the Irish people with a respite in which to assess its value. Their conclusions although unattainable can be readily grasped. In the Northern ghetto areas, relief; elsewhere silent welcome.

The opportunities afforded in the situation have been marred by vicious Protestant and Roman Catholic sectarian killings. The latest of which in the South Armagh area must raise serious questions about the intentions of some who would claim to be Republicans.

Be that as it may it is further evidence of the truth expounded by the Republican Movement that sectarianism must be fought as a phenomenon in its own right. Excuses by erstwhile socialists on this question are nothing less than acceptance of prejudice, discrimination and segregation. Ask any non-white South African socialist does he see a solution to apartheid in the extermination of white South African workers. The comparison is valid.

The future, North and South, is dominated by two issues around which the mass of the people can be mobilised. Progressive issues for the benefit of all. Democracy in the North and the expansion of popular control over the wealth available in the South.

The recent decision of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association to end the people's pledge, which Republican Local Government Councillors supported, is an important opportunity to advance the struggle against the vicious continuation of repression in the North. A real opposition by committed Republicans in the Council Chambers will not allow the British to brush internment and Special Powers under the carpet.

The growing awareness in the South of the near total Anglo-American control of the political and economic life of the people is exemplified in the question of the right to exploit our own natural resources.

It is similar to the denial of democracy in the North; a refusal to meet the challenge of Republicanism.

Republicans must therefore be to the forefront in mobilising all possible support for the extension of democratic control over every aspect of Irish life, political, economic and social.

N.A.I.F. reject claim

The National Association for Irish Freedom (NAIF) has been asked by a number of different groups to comment on the existence of the Irish National Caucus. The Irish National Caucus does not represent the aims and objectives of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, and, therefore, cannot be thought to speak for the National Association for Irish Freedom in America. Further comment on the Irish National Caucus and its attempt to represent all political thought and direction both in Ireland and the U.S. will be forthcoming in our monthly Fact Sheet.

The National Association for Irish Freedom can be contacted at its national headquarters: 799 Broadway, Rm. 422, New York, NY 10003 USA.

Road scheme scrapped

The decision to scrap the proposed motorway within the Belfast City area means that hundreds of families can heave a sigh of relief - families whose homes lay within the area of the planned route.

Nevertheless, the whole City Motorway Plan raises a number of questions which must be answered publicly

- and honestly and immediately so that never again can homes and public money be wasted in such a wanton manner.
- 1) What happens to the houses which have lain empty and bricked-up, awaiting demolition to make way for the motorway? Will they be speedily repaired to re-house the hundreds of families who have nowhere to live? Or will they be torn down to allow some property speculator to move in to impose some equally idiotic plan on the people?
 - 2) What becomes of the vacant waste land (88 acres) which was supposed to become the motorway? Will it be handed over to the speculators or will it be used to provide much needed social amenities or homes for the West Belfast area?
 - 3) Already £8 million has been spent on planning for the now defunct Ring Road; a sum of money that could have been saved if the powers that be had consulted public opinion and had a proper transport review; will they learn the lessons of this costly failure?
 - 4) City transport does need a massive shake-up. The Government are now prepared to pour £8-£11 million annually into this crucial public service.



● Cllr Sullivan, headed Ring Road campaign.

The Republican Clubs are submitting the following proposals to the Co. Antrim Executive for discussion prior to a submission to the Department of the En-

- vironment for consideration;
- a) A 15 minute bus service on all routes daily at peak hours (Mon.-Sat. 7.00 a.m.-9.00 a.m.; 4.30 p.m.-6.30 p.m.)
 - b) Direct Across Town routes to be introduced.
 - c) All private cars to be banned from the City Centre.
 - d) The taxi service to be considered part of the Public Transport System and provided with proper boarding-points in the City Centre.
 - e) The single fare structure to be restored with free transport for Old Age Pensioners, children and those still at school.
 - f) Public transport to be nationalised and put into the hands of the people.

Farmers defence meetings

In accordance with a decision made at the recent Annual Conference of the Farmers Defence Association, a series of internal meetings are presently being held by the association throughout the country.

This week, local branches are meeting to select their delegates to each of the four provincial meetings to be held later in June. The provincial meetings will elect members to the associations National Executive and also make plans for the further expansion of the association in every county. Representatives of the associations National Leadership will attend each of the provincial meetings.

The Munster and Connacht meetings will be held on June 15th in Cork and Balla, Co. Mayo, respectively. The Ulster meeting is planned for June 29th, also a Sunday, while the Leinster meeting is still in the stages of planning, but will probably be held in Mullingar late in June.

WHAT ARE THE BRITISH UP TO?

British policy throughout the world is dictated by the economic, political, and strategic interests of the British ruling class. British policy with regard to the North of Ireland generally is no exception to this rule. Currently Britain and the Western capitalist countries have entered a period of very marked crisis. This crisis is bound to have its effects on British policy in the North.

Is it likely that the British will soon withdraw from the North? This view is held by a fairly wide spectrum of political opinion in the north and the country at large. But if we examine this view on the only basis on which the British Government would examine it - namely British interests, then we are forced to the opposite conclusion.

In weighing up the option of whether to withdraw from the North or not the British government would decide on the economic, political and strategic consequences of such a decision. Economically British expenditure in the North would seem to justify withdrawal. On top of a minimal expenditure on maintaining a military presence, there has been a marked increase in the total British expenditure in the area. This was £313 million in the financial year 1973/74. Against that approximately £40 million left the area in profits to the monopolies in the same period. Also millions of pounds of local investors money leave the north each year by way of the banks and insurance companies.

But British interests in the North cannot be measured by a simple balance and deficit approach. The value of expenditure in the North is measured by its effect not only on the North but also on the South. By this yard stick, the campaign of attrition primarily against the Nationalist population in the North has

for the hatchet

Is C.I.E. Road Freight Section being run down?

Jim Creegan, Chairman of the C.I.E. Road Freight Section of the Cork No. 5 Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union certainly seems to think so. In support of his contention, he produces some alarming facts.

C.I.E. has three international road haulage licences (two were taken from them for inability to prove that they had use for them) yet they have no equipment for the transport of food. Yet, a private haulage interest recently imported 70 refrigerated containers for this very purpose. If private haulage can cater for this traffic, why not C.I.E.?

All this takes place while foreign private hauliers collect intervention beef from Ireland and C.I.E. could, if properly equipped, in conjunction with the Irish shipping services provide a door-to-door delivery service.

A largely similar situation exists in the steel industry where C.I.E. control the haulage but only operate about one half, the remainder being sub-contracted to private interests with the profits on sub-contracting going to Irish Steel.

Added to this is the fact that the C.I.E. monopoly of limestone haulage is sub-contracted to private interests at a margin of 12 per cent.

A few years ago, the coach-building section of C.I.E. was handed over to a Belgian firm.

All this adds up to one thing. The Government is handing over all the profitable transport available in this country to private commercial interests at the expense of massive redundancy in C.I.E. — at

the expense of the Irish workers.

And the workers say

We, the members of CIE Road Freight in Cork, have reason to be concerned at the Minister for Transport and Power's Liberalisation Bill, which is due to come into effect in January 1976.

We feel that, if this Bill is to go through the Dail as proposed, it will be detrimental to the jobs of a number of people in the Road Freight Section, which is in a very shaky position at present. Indeed we know that the private hauliers are very anxious also because this Bill will effect them as well. We know that in accordance with E.E.C. regulations transport has to be liberalised by 1976. But we, in the Road Freight Section, believe that cognisance should be taken of the position which will prevail if this Bill goes through in its entirety, particularly in the present economic depression with consequent job losses which shows all the signs of being with us for a long time to come.



● Mr. Barry, Minister for Transport.

Apart from E.E.C. regulations, it is now widely recognised that immense pressure for liberalisation is coming from the big co-ops

and combines, who have invested heavily in new transport and could not be in a position to provide work for these all year round.

As we see it, liberalisation would encourage these co-ops to engage in the haulage of agricultural products, such as beet, grain, etc. These areas of haulage would be easily obtainable by co-ops once liberalisation of transport has gone through because of the way in which farming is becoming tied up with co-ops.

Incidentally, we, in the Road Freight Section in Cork, obtain a considerable amount of work transporting these agricultural products.

We think that it is imperative at this stage that the Minister should give some protection to existing hauliers and not open the floodgates which will inevitably mean a loss of jobs.

Cut-away bogs plan

A booklet titled **IN DEFENCE OF WORKING FARMERS** was launched at a press conference in the **FARMERS DEFENCE** head-office in Belvedere Place, Dublin on Sunday last (June 8th).

The booklet, published by the **Farmers Defence Association**, contains several well researched articles on subjects such as **Land Structure**, the **Livestock trade**, the **Pig Industry** and the **Beef Incentive Scheme**. Other aspects of agriculture like, the **Farm Modernisation Scheme** and the **Pigs and Bacon Commission** come in for mention also. Following each article the official policy of the **Farmers Defence** is outlined clearly.

Among the interesting demands of the **Farmers Defence** is one urging special assistance from the government for the development of co-

operatively operated farms. The co-op farms envisaged would be 1,000 acres or more in size and would be made up of small farms whose owners would voluntarily come together to form the co-ops. Such co-ops would benefit from mechanisation as much as large farms do and would allow farmers time off and other such benefits.



● Mr. Clinton, Minister for Agriculture.

A very significant demand concerning the future of cut-away bogs now in the possession of **Bord na Mona** is made. Here the **Farmers Defence** urges the development of large co-op farms to be run by small farmers' and labourers (no doubt including those turf workers whom **Bord na Mona** are about to make redundant). Certainly some very important suggestions from Ireland's **Smaller-farmers** organisation.

IN DEFENCE OF WORKING FARMERS sells at 10p and is available from **The Farmers Defence Association**, 8 Belvedere Place, Dublin 1 and most newsagents.

The Officer board elected for the coming year is as follows: **Chairman Owen Kirk (Monaghan)**; **Vice-Chairman, Sean O Driscoll (Kildare)**; **Secretary, Phil Fortune (Kilkenny)**; **Minutes Secretary, Chris O'Grady (Mayo)**; **Treasurer, Patsy McKenna (Leitrim)**. The 20 man executive committee will be elected at provincial meetings at present being held throughout the country.

sapped the very last ounce of independence out of the Southern bourgeoisie. The determination of the Coalition Government to push through the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill shows them to be totally committed to Britain's policies in the North. Thus despite the very obvious setbacks which they have experienced, the overall benefits to Britain have been worth all the expenditure of military personnel and of money. Neo-unionist policies are now being pushed more strongly in the 26 Co's. than at any time since the late 20's. This can only be to Britain's advantage.

But as the British themselves admit, their policy in the North takes place on a much wider stage than that which runs between Dublin and London. The **Gardiner Report** which was published in January of this year stated that whatever the form of devolved government worked out between it and Britain, Northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom. The basis for this assertion was that whatever their own wishes on the matter their obligation to NATO and the Common Market required them to remain in the North. Thus the British view their role as bearing the 'White Man's Burden in Darkest Ulster'.

While the British Government are in no doubt about their presence in the North the same cannot be said for a whole range of political parties and individuals as diverse as **Rev. Arlow** and the **Provisionals**. For their particular reasons these people believe that the British are going to withdraw. The consequences of this are that at a time when maximum pressure should be exerted on the British for action on the community, social, economic and political problems, that pressure is not being exerted.

This lets the British off the hook. Thus internment continues. There is no reform of the RUC. A Bill of



● Mrs. Thatcher making overtures to Craig and Company?

Rights is postponed for at least a year while **Lord Feather's Human Rights Commission** examines whether or not one is necessary. And with unemployment at 7.1 per cent and investment at a standstill, economic prospects look bleak.

The British are seeking to divert people's attention to the Convention away from the real issues. What they want everyone to forget is that whether the Convention produces a single report or different reports after six months the British Government will still have the responsibility to provide a solution to these problems.

British policies must be challenged all along the line. Thus demands such as are made by the **British Troops Out Movement** simply for the withdrawal of **British Troops** ignores the whole range of complex community, social, economic and political questions which the Irish people and indeed British democrats are perfectly justified in attributing to the British presence in Ireland and which the British Government must be made to reduce.

There are certainly keen needs in the North at the present which cannot wait the outcome of the Convention circus. The first is the immediate ending of internment and the release of all political prisoners. Already there has been too much delay on this front. Secondly the British Government must pass a **Bill of Rights** as demanded by **NICRA**. There must be a disbanding of the **UDR** and a clearly seen drastic reform of the **RUC**. To rebuild the forces necessary to advance these goals should be the aim of every democrat in the North today irrespective of party allegiance.

It is a task which will undoubtedly require hard work but when one sees the alternatives offered it is clear that there is no other way.

It was after the conclusion of the special training that Mickey first suggested the possibility of my working in the country as National Organiser for the Fianna. Mickey was well aware of my connections with the Belfast Fianna, and of my continued interest in the Republican Youth Movement. Apparently this idea of a travelling organiser had been discussed and approved at G.H.Q. It was not a new idea, other young men before me had travelled the country on such work; since the formation of the Fianna nearly thirty years earlier, this work of recruiting and organising had been going on. I was very pleased and rather proud to have been chosen as the latest Organiser, and to follow thus in the footsteps of Liam Mellows. Eagerly and happily I looked forward to starting work at the earliest opportunity.

To help prepare me for the task, Mickey introduced me to a number of people who would be able to assist and advise me. Together we called one afternoon at the Plunkett house in Ballsbridge.

Fiona Plunkett, a senior officer of Cumann na mBan, brought us into a large room on the right of the hall, and, after a few moments conversation, left us to fetch George. While we waited, Jack Plunkett wandered into the room, but soon left when he found we were not discussing Army business. Jack, a signatory of the Proclamation of January, was more interested in I.R.A. affairs. In appearance he resembled his brother Joseph Mary, a signatory of the 1916 Proclamation and one of the sixteen leaders executed after the surrender of the Republican Forces. The Plunketts, steeped for sixty years in Irish Republican tradition and history, are one of the more prominent families which have contributed to the continuity of Republican principles and ideals.

Later, with George, we went into the dining-room where tea was already in progress. At the head of the table sat an old man with snow-white hair and beard, Count George Noble Plunkett. This was the man who, twenty-two years earlier, had set Ireland alight with the first Sinn Fein victory in the North Roscommon bye-election. Then, a couple of years later, he revealed his utter unselfishness and lack of personal ambition by standing down in favour of De Valera when the newly elected T.D.'s met to choose the President of the Irish Republic.

Beside the Count sat his wife, engaged in lively conversation with those nearest her, now and again pausing to explain to her husband, who suffered from deafness, what was going on, and occasionally turning to greet new arrivals at the table. Mickey, George and I sat at the opposite end of the long polished table and, while having tea, continued our chat on the plans for the Fianna. As Chief Scout with many years of experience, George was able to help me to a proper appreciation of the importance of Fianna Eireann in a Republican Ireland both of to-day, and of the future.

Next day I met Diarmuid Fitzpatrick for the first time. Diarmuid then had his bookshop in O'Connell Street — he later moved around the corner to a bigger shop in Cathedral Street — and during the next two years I was to spend many hours browsing among the books and chatting with Diarmuid, mainly of Republican affairs, and always benefiting by his advice and long experience of Irish political life.

Later I called to see Brian O'Higgins, renowned publisher of the 'Wolfe Tone Weekly', explained my new Fianna mission to him, and asked him if he would be willing to publish a weekly report from me on Fianna activities throughout the country. Brian readily agreed and, from July onwards, faithfully printed short articles from the Fianna Organiser in the 'Wolfe Tone



● Frank McGlade (far right), this year's Bodenstown's Chairman, marching there in 1960.

Weekly'.

It is perhaps of interest now to recall the circumstances of the premature demise of this popular paper. Early in September, with the outbreak of war in Europe, a strict censorship was imposed, bearing specially heavily on Republican publications. Rather than accept the one-sided anti-Republican bias of the Free State censorship, Brian, who was both editor and publisher of the paper, reluctantly decided to cease publication.

So the Republican Movement was left without an open organ for the expression of its Ideals, Principles and Policy. The 'War News' quickly took its place. An 'underground newspaper', War News did very well in the hands of the enthusiastic Staff of the I.R.A. Publicity Department, but failed to match the Wolfe Tone Weekly either in quality, or in the extent of its appeal or popularity.

Brian had one last dig at the Free State Government and its censors, with one of his final posters.

By Government Order in June, the I.R.A. had been declared an 'unlawful organisation' and newspapers were no longer permitted to print the words 'Irish Republican Army', or the letters 'I.R.A.'. All future references to the I.R.A. were to be concealed in such phrases as 'a certain illegal body', or 'an unlawful organisation'. Of course, terms such as 'blood-hardened criminals' or 'terrorists' were particularly sure of passing the Censor.

“ Later, with George, we went into the dining-room where tea was already in progress. At the head of the table sat an old man with snow white hair and beard, Count George Noble Plunkett. ”

On the last Friday of publication of the Wolfe Tone Weekly, Brian's posters appeared outside every newsagent's shop in the City, bearing the simple legend:

Irish
Revival
Again

A wink is as good as a nod to a blind mule, but Republicans, and many who were not, chuckled at this last act of defiance by an Irish Republican editor.

Light in the Black North



With few exceptions, the rest of the 'National' Press fell into line with the requirements of the Censorship, paralyzed by the declaration of the 'State of Emergency', by fear of the Censor, but most of all by the mere fact that they too were a vital part of the Free State system, and therefore sworn enemies of any movement genuinely struggling to make our people truly free and independent.

More than ever before, from now on, the Republican Movement would be faced with the open hostility of practically all organs of publicity in Ireland in a one-sided struggle against a sustained campaign of lies, deceit, insinuation, wilful misinterpretation and misinformation — all in the sacred cause of Unity through Neutrality, while a quarter of a million young men and women were being recruited for the British Armed Forces, with the connivance of the Free State Government.

“Still forth his clarion message rings

When Freedom's mighty breath Whirls from their thrones the puppet kings

Down to unhonoured death.

And Freedom's flower from his grave starts,

And far its seeds are blown,

To bloom anew in boyish hearts

That honour young Wolfe Tone”.

— (Felimy Fídileir).

Bodenstown Sunday is one of the big days of Republican Ireland, a day when men and women, boys and girls, gather together from the Thirty Two Counties to honour the memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone, justly revered as the Father and Founder of Irish Republicanism,

and the original exponent in Ireland of the Principles of the Brotherhood of Man.

On the last Sunday in June of each year, the Republican people converge on his lonely grave in Bodenstown Churchyard. To the beat of the drum, and the skirl of the war-pipe, Tone's faithful disciples, sometimes in their many thousands, at other times of low ebb in Republican enthusiasm and activity, only in their hundreds, make this annual pilgrimage to the graveside of the man who first enunciated to an enslaved people the Gospel of the Separatist Republican Ideal.

“ Bodenstown Sunday is one of the big days of Republican Ireland, a day when men and women, boys and girls, gather together from the 32 Counties to honour Theobald Wolfe Tone. ”

About two weeks before the Sunday of the pilgrimage, some half-dozen of the young Staff officers were brought together by Mickey Trainor, the A.G., and instructed in the task of meeting representatives of every Army Unit (battalions and upwards) in the country, and making known to them recent H.Q. decisions, including the National arrangements for the Wolfe Tone Commemoration. These meetings were being arranged beforehand by the A.G.'s Staff so that each Junior officer would meet in each county he visited, senior officers of all units in that county, or even of two adjoining

MEITHEAMH

Wolfe Tone and the gospel of the Republic

counties. These local officers were to come together at one particular centre for the meetings.

My share of the task comprised six Counties, including Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Longford, Westmeath and Meath. Contacts had been arranged for six p.m. each evening, and I was supplied with a bicycle for making the trips from one county to the next across the breadth of Ireland. This bicycle, a Rudge-Whitworth sports model, was to become an essential part of my equipment during more than two years on the run. I have no way of estimating the many thousands of miles I travelled during that time, over some of the roughest roads and boreens in the country, in and out of ditches, across ploughed fields and over stony hills, in fair weather and foul, but during that time my most dependable ally, whatever the conditions, was my bicycle. I am quite sure that, without my bicycle, I would not have lasted quite so long 'on the run'.

At the Old Malt House, Galway, I met Mrs. Walsh, and one by one as they arrived home, her son Fursie, her daughter Mary, and other members of the family I never got to know the house properly. Behind an unassuming front, the Old Malt House wandered and turned and twisted over half of Galway. At least that was how it seemed to me. A couple of months after this one-day visit, I spent a week in it. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth if I said that I lost a week in it. Any time that I left the sitting-room for another part of the house, I was almost certain to find myself five minutes later wandering, helplessly lost, through a maze of passages from which, from time to time, various members of the family would rescue me, laughing their heads off, no doubt. I do believe that visitors to the Old Malt should be supplied with a map, a torch and a compass.

Mrs. Walsh by then had been widowed for nineteen years, ever since the Black-and-Tans took her

husband out of the house, murdered him and threw his body into the Bay. She and her family, suitably impressed by this action necessary to the 'Better Government of Ireland' remained as always, fervent workers for and supporters of the Republican Cause.

About eight o'clock, with Fursie and other officers of the City Battalion, we set off by car for the venue of the meeting. Judge my surprise when we went back all the seventeen miles to Headford through which I had cycled just that afternoon. Making much better time than I had, we soon arrived at a large newly-built set off the road a short distance from the town. This was the home of Tony D'Arcy who within the short space of ten months was to take part in the now historic Hunger-Strike culminating in his death on the 56th day, followed three days later by that of Jack M'Neela, his stalwart comrade from Mallaranny, W. Mayo.

Tony was a big, hearty, jovial man with an infectious laugh and an unquenchable thirst for serious discussion and pugnacious argument. We were soon introduced to the other men already present in the house, and then got down to the business which had brought us together. That being disposed of, discussion became general and ranged over many aspects of Republican affairs, a discussion dominated by the vivid personality of D'Arcy who rose to his feet, time after time, to throw fresh fuel on the blazing fire of the debate, now and again pounding with his fist on the table as he drove home his points.

A man of tremendous energy and vitality, Tony, as well as farming, was engaged in the hackney and funeral undertaking business. Through all three was closely woven the stout thread of his life and activities as an I.R.A. officer. Many of his comrades still recall the times when Tony would pack as many men of his unit into the motor-hearse as would seat a small bus and drive merrily all the way to Bodenstown or any other place where Republicans gathered to honour their Dead. Tony was a man who loved to talk, but when the need arose he acted accordingly. All Ireland had need to be sad on the day when the gay, laughing voice of this great, lovable Man of the West was silenced for ever in St. Bricin's Military Hospital, Dublin.

This was the home of Tony D'Arcy who within the short space of ten months was to take part in the new historic hunger strike culminating in his death on the 56th day, followed three days later by that of Jack M'Neela.

Next morning I set off on the fifty-four mile journey to Roscommon Town, along roads which at times were bounded by great stretches of low-lying bogland. Here and there, I had my first close view of men preparing and cutting the turf-banks on which rural Ireland depends for fuel. In many places, the weather having been extremely favourable, the winter's supply of turf had already been saved and stacked in clamps on the boreens at points convenient to the roadway, whence it was being removed on flat two-wheeled carts drawn in many cases by the humble donkey, that hard-working friend of the Irish peasant, to the widely scattered farmsteads.

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 tur-

bulence 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.

Leading army units attacked the gate

I found my next contact very soon after my arrival, and was soon brought to meet the Roscommon Adjutant, John Ward, a shy, quiet, unassuming man. After tea we rode out on our bicycles to the venue of the meeting a few miles north of the town, where we met the O/C, Bertie M'Cormick, a small, dark man, with a merry glint in his eye, accompanied by his Staff officers.

After concluding our business, John and Bertie suggested that I come along with them to see what they called 'the beginnings of a Republican Air Force'. Much intrigued, I went along with them to a farmhouse a mile or so along the road where a young Volunteer showed me, quite proudly, the aeroplane he was building. A monoplane, built mainly of plywood and canvas, its design workmanship and finish were a credit to its young constructor, and to his father for craftwork.

"Do you think that it will ever take to the air?" I asked him. He shrugged his shoulders and smiled. I never met him again, but I have often wondered what became of the I.R.A.'s first aeroplane.

As Sunday was Bodenstown Day, I decided to travel on the excursion train to Dublin. Aware that this occasion would bring the full complement of G-men to Victoria Station, I enlisted the help of George Hanna, to ensure a safe passage.

Lisburn, just outside Belfast, was the first stopping station for the Dublin special. George, therefore, arranged to pick me up on Sunday morning in his car and run me to Lisburn station where I could safely board the train and join my friends.

On arrival at Amiens Street Station where earlier trains from the North had already deposited their loads, the huge crowds of men, women, boys and girls began assembling in their various units according to organisations, I.R.A., Cumann na mBan, Fianna Eireann, and Cumann na gCailini, in preparation for the parade to Harcourt Street Station where we were to entrain for Bodenstown via Sallins. I chose to march with the Belfast Fianna.

In the midst of the hustle and bustle, came confirmation of the report that had been buzzing among us for the last few hours. The Bodenstown Pilgrimage had been banned and the movement of trains from Harcourt Street Station stopped. On the heels of this story

came the report that the main gate into the roadway had been closed and barred, defended by a large force of Gardai, and that we would not be allowed to march into the City centre. Feeling was intense, yet most of us in the rear half of the parade were uncertain what was going on as one rumour was succeeded by another. The leading units of the Army began a frontal attack on the gate, while the Ballymacarret 'E' Company scaled the high side wall, dropped to the street and rushed the Guards from the side and rear. In a few minutes it was all over. A triumphant cheer went up from a thousand throats as the Guards broke and fled in disorder, some of them nursing sore heads; the gates burst open and the Northern Republicans marched proudly along Liffey's side and up O'Connell Street to the G.P.O. On every corner of the street from the bridge to Parnell Street, the men of the Dublin Brigade had already assembled to protect their Northern comrades as they defied the sham-Republican authority which dared to deny to Irishmen the right to honour Theobald Wolfe Tone.

A very successful and enthusiastic demonstration ended with the public burning of the Union Jack, and the fervent singing of 'A Soldier's Song'. The police force remained inactive. An open clash in the streets of Dublin with Northern Republicans would probably not have suited the hypocritical policy of the Free State.

On Wednesday afternoon July 5th, I started off on the first stage of my tour as National Fianna Organiser. It was a warm mid-summer's day as I set out — before my task would be completed, it would be mid-winter, and I would have covered some thousands of miles on my bicycle.

On the Navan Road as I left Cabra, I rode into a fine misty rain, but after putting a few miles past me, the skies cleared a little and the rain ceased. About fifteen miles from Dublin, I came to a sign-post pointing west to "the Hill of Tara". Well, I thought, in the words of the old song 'I may never pass this way again' so I turned off on the steady climb to the top of the Hill.

Guards broke and fled in disorder, some of them nursing sore heads; the gates burst open and the Northern Republicans marched proudly along Liffey's side and up O'Connell Street to the G.P.O.

They tell me that from the Hill of Tara, seven counties adjoining Meath can be seen, with the Wicklow Mountains thrown in on a clear day. I was sorely disappointed; not for me this magnificent panorama of undulating countryside, for when I reached the summit, the country around was clothed in low-lying cloud. As I walked around this historic mound, I thought back to the days when Tara was not grass, when it housed the High Kings of Ireland, when five broad roads led from the five provinces of the Kingdom to the beating heart of Ireland. Now that heart no longer beats, and sheep and cattle dominate the once royal lands of Tara and Meath. One can understand the feelings of the poet who wrote:—
"Tara is grass, and behold Troy how she lieth low,
And even the English — perchance their time might come!"

But Vengeance has no place in the hearts of those who work for the aims and the ideals of the Republican Movement — it has never had. Nothing could ever undo or eradicate the sufferings of the Irish people over the centuries. The price of Freedom has long been paid — a price too high for the little gained. The practical liberation of the people, North and South, for their political, economic, social and sectarian bonds, is the only adequate Revenge.

Why is it hard to get a job?

In the south of Ireland there are now over 100,000 people out of work.

Is Government economic policy designed to give some hope that the present position will not continue?

Why are people out of work?

The Irish economic experience of the 1950's showed clearly that Irish capitalism could not give employment to all our people. People with money to invest, even Irish people living here, did not invest in manufacturing industry in Ireland; they invested where they could get the biggest return on investment. The need for jobs in Ireland, in order to keep our people at home, was not considered by Irish investors to be a sound reason for accepting a smaller return on investment.

A policy was adopted by government to induce foreign firms to come to Ireland; to invest in Ireland. Was the Irish investor or business person not also paid to invest in Ireland? Yes, they were offered exactly the same terms as the foreigners, but by far the greater part of Irish business concerns are small businesses; they do not have sales organisation overseas to look for business, for exports, nor could they afford to carry that sort of overhead expense.

"Unemployment has always been an acute problem in the Six Counties. Since accession to the EEC the North is the worst region for jobs in the U.K. But this average gives only a very shallow idea of the unemployment misery.

"The August 1974 figures show that while areas like Larne and Newtownards had rates of 15.5 and 17.7 per cent respectively. The 4.5 per cent rate recorded at the same date for Belfast masked a very much higher rate in West Belfast, with 50 per cent of males being unemployed in Ballymurphy. 1975 figures show increasing numbers affected in both the 'mildly' and the seriously affected areas." — Ballymurphy News, Belfast.

Could the Irish government have established State Enterprises in order to create employment in Ireland and so keep our people at home? Irish governments could, of course, very easily have established State Enterprises on a large scale, but Irish government is firmly committed to the 'free enterprise' system. This commitment does not prevent government grants to privately owned companies nor government loans to privately owned companies, but is strictly opposed to government ownership and control.

An economic policy was adopted in line with the principles of 'free enterprise'; foreign firms were attracted here by offering grants,

tax concessions, low wages by comparison with other places, no limits on the amount of profits made here and a promise that no law would ever be passed to prevent profits made here being taken out of the country.

Millions of your money was paid to the giant multi-national firms in order to induce them to come in here — Firenka, for example received a grant of £11 millions and Pfyser £9 millions — the size of the grant is now always so large but the tendency is pay more and more in order to get the jobs.

Do these firms increase the amount of employment in Ireland?

The numbers out of work are the highest since 1942 but in their capacity as individual firms employment is created. Ferenka, for example did create over 1,000 jobs in Limerick, (there is short-time working in this firm in the last few months), that was a gain in employment. Viewed from the national point-of-view the policy is foolish — the Irish home market has been opened to the giants.

One has only to examine the pattern of unemployment to get some idea of what is happening. The largest increases in unemployment recently have been in textiles and clothing, in car-assembly and in the building industry. All these industries cater for the home market.

Ireland is in a very special position in relation to the rest of the world — we are one of the few countries with a falling population or, at least, this was the case until very recently. We had a falling population because people emigrated in search of employment.

Why is there depression in the clothing industry; because people

wear less clothes? No, the reason for depression in the clothing industry is because the government allows the import of ready-to-wear clothing. Irish hides, for example, are exported and fully manufactured boots and shoes are imported.

"Control of commerce, insurance, banking, the finance houses and industry has passed out of local hands in the Six Counties. British Monopolies control 45 per cent of our larger manufacturing companies, the U.S.A. 20 per cent. According to the U.S.A. Consulate General, there are 36 U.S. firms and Banks, employing some 20,000 people with an investment total of £500 million US capital. E.E.C. countries control 10 per cent. The same is true of the smaller manufacturing units of the distributive trade". — Malachy McGurran, Armagh.

Fully-assembled cars are imported and the Irish car-assembly is in crisis.

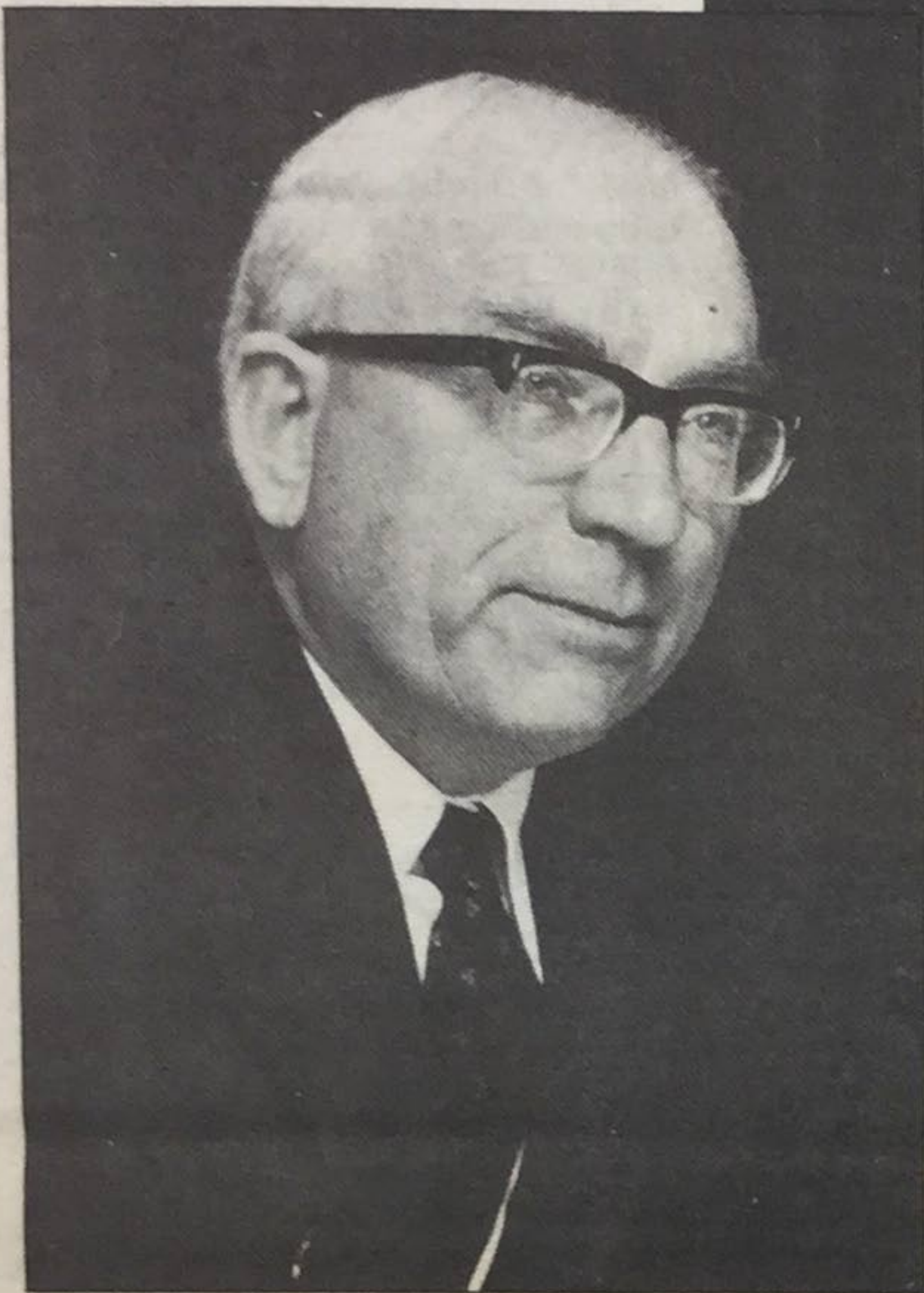
Our people need houses yet the building industry is in crisis.

To achieve full employment in Ireland 30,000 new jobs are required every year. Between 1961 — '71 we created 10,000 new jobs. It is quite clear that government policy followed since the foundation of this state; government policy as it is today will not produce the jobs required — 30,000 new jobs every year.

We need a detailed economic plan to industrialise Ireland based on the resources which we ourselves produce. The present government

**WORK
FOR
ALL THE
PEOPLE**

It is the financial policy of Bankers such as Mr. T. K. Whitaker, (below) Governor of the Southern Central Bank which is helping to destroy the Building Industry.



Our oil wealth is

being given away

policy in relation to zinc is obviously disastrous. Ireland produced 83,000 tons of zinc ore in 1973; Ireland did not smelt so much as one ounce of zinc ore but imported 4,000 tons of zinc for industrial use. Belgium, for example, does not possess zinc ore on the national territory but in 1973 Belgium smelted 278,000 tons of zinc ore and used 150,000 tons of zinc in industry.

"There are 100 million unemployed inside the capitalist, free enterprise world. Since the 26 counties joined the E.E.C., food prices have risen by 50 per cent in three years . . . and unemployment has increased by nearly half and is at the highest level since 1942. One worker in ten is without a job and fierce competition from the Common Market is largely responsible".
— Andy Barr, President Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Finance, granted a 20 years period of tax freedom.

Tony O'Reilly, at one time a director of the Tara Mining Co., sold his 350,000 shares to the Anglo-American Mining Co. This operation made a tax-free profit of £2 millions for Mr. Tony O'Reilly.

The ore from Irish mines is to be and indeed has been exported in a raw state. It will provide employment in Belgium, Germany, in France and in Spain. The giant mining companies have smelters and an industrial machine in those countries and will make super profits from the whole operation. They are not in any way concerned with the problem of full employment in Ireland.

We are an old-fashioned country in more ways than the usual meaning of the expression. We are fortunate in having rich deposits of natural gas and oil on the national territory yet we do not follow the example of the vast majority of nations with

similar resources — our oil and gas resources are not owned and controlled by the state.

Our oil and gas resources should be the basis for a state petrochemicals industry. We should start to train people and make preparation for this development now. What are the signs that this is taking place? No sign at all — 800 apprentices, our hope for the future, have been made redundant.

"Over the next ten years 300,000 new jobs would be needed to cope with our extremely high rate of natural population increase and because the highest number of new jobs we had created in any year so far was 10,000, I expect that 200,000 people will be unemployed by the end of this decade." — Dr. K. Kennedy, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin.

A state organisation which will actually build houses on a national scale is urgently needed. Private building firms have constructed damp, ill-ventilated houses all over Ireland and the working conditions for those employed in building are a scandal. This industry is at present run by gangsters most of whom are members of the Fianna Fail party.

Cheap credit to finance a much needed housing programme can be provided by the banks at present making super profits.

Allied Irish banks £15,000,000

Bank of Ireland £9,000,000

Ulster Bank £6,000,000

Northern Banks Ltd. £3,877,000

Since this state was established its economic policy has seen, one stupidity after another.

Mining in Ireland has a history which is difficult to associate in any way with even the degree of honesty which was accepted by business in this state. The Tynagh mine — according to the president of the operating company, P. J. Hughes was in a position to repay all the initial capital debt in two years. This happy position was made even more attractive when Mr. Charles Haughey, who was then Minister for

Bfheidir, ar dhoigh, go bhfuil an tadh ar mhuintir Chrois Mhig Fhloinn go bhfuil arm Shasana ina mullach mar leiríonn se dholbh go soileir an cultur a tathar a bhru orthu. Níl saighdiúri sna sraideacha againn agus mar sin ní thugann sinn faoi deara go bhfuil an bru ata orainne níos measa mar ta an Cuigiú Colun (LFM agus a leitheid) inar measc ag cuidiu leis. Ar scor ar bith glacann se sonc maith i mbun na cluaisé don Éireannach leis an Gaelachas a mhuscailt ann. Níl dabht ar bith nach bhfuair muintir

Chrois Mhig Fhloinn a saith de shoncanna nímhneacha le cuple bliain anuas agus mas sin ata clontach as ath-mhuscailt an Ghaelachais ansin thainig maitheas amhain as a gcrá croi. Ta siad ag gabhail i gceann a gcuid oibre go ceilli stuama — we must consider our 'Irishness' first and having agreed on its importance we can then do all we can to enrich it, for it would be premature for us to talk of the Irish Language Revival until it is firmly in the hearts of people that they want to be Irish".

Direach e. Cuireann siad a mear go direach ar locht a bhí agus ata ar mhoran de lucht na h-athbheochana i.e. easpa tuisceana 's fullstín, sort snobbery no elitism i.e. "The time has come, we believe, when the people without The Irish Language should be counted — the people who feel uncomfortable among the Gaeilgeoiri. The time also for the people with little Irish, and who would want to use it, to get up and speak it. They all have a great contribution to make".

Ní dhealaíonn siad gnath strachailt na ndaoine ach oíread on athbheochaint i.e. "Community efforts such as co-operatives and home industry enterprises, also have their part to play . . ."

Ta moran mor sceimeanna practiciúla curtha os a gcoir fhein acu agus ma eiríonn leo a leath fhein a chur i gcríoch beidh gaisce deanta acu.

(a) Iarsmalann — caithfear foirgneamh a fhail do agus beidh síopa Gaelach leis fosta.

(b) Comharchumainn — eolas a bhailiu agus oideachas a chur ar an phobal fa dtaobh doibh.

(c) Club Cultura — suim i ndramaíocht, ceol, filíocht, stair aitiúil agus rí. a mhuscailt agus abhar comortais a chur ar fail do Feile Oiriaila.

(d) Fograí Gaelige.

(e) Club ceili — rince a theagasc, banna ceoil a chur le cheile agus rí.

(f) Teagasc na Gaeilge — cuigear muinteoiri ar fail agus usaid a bhaint as Cursa Nua Gaeilg Gael Linn/Linguaphone.

(g) Bealoideas — Gach piosa taighde bealoideas go nuige seo a fhollsiu le cuidiu an Chomhairle Ealaíona. (Ní bheidh easpa abhair orthu sa cheantar sin acu go hairithe).

MUSCAILT SA GHLEANN

SCEAL
SCEIL

Greann,
magadh,
aoir,
spraoi agus
go leor eile



faoi O Cadhain nuair a d'eag se (alt níos fearr b'fheidir na cuid de na h-altanna ata luaite sa leabhar — mas ceadmhach duinn an druma a bhualadh!); litreacha eile ar an "Irish Times" ar nos an ceann ud ar claisic e de genre airithe i Lunasa 1966 nuair a thug se freagra (c. 3,000 focal!) ar dhaolne agus ar eagraíocht a bhí ag ionsal na Gaeilge fhaid a bhí se fein as baile. Ta greann, magadh, aoir, spraoi agus go leor rudal eile ann.

Ní luafaidh me ach pointe amhain as an litir ach leiríonn se go maith ce chomh doimhin is a bhí a chuid eolais ar dhaoine agus ar shaol na hÉireann. An te a theadh i ngleic le O Cadhain, chaithfeadh faobhar a bheith ar a lann aige agus an obair bhalle deanta aige.

Bhí se ag tabhairt freagra ar John M. Dillon (de shliocht James Dillon, Myles Dillon agus John Dillon on Irish Parliamentary Party). Leiríonn se o chulra, o shaol agus o shaothar an fhir oig seo nach raibh se mí-chruinn an t-ainm West Briton a bheith luaite leis ag daoine eile. Agus deir se: "He had a poem in Arena — the Rocks of Connemara — inspired presumably by the rock philosophy of Uncle Jim —, a man capable of writing the line — 'the anguished self-abuse of clerical students' — not alone is incapable of selling Connemara; he is incapable of seeing Ireland, or of seeing it as anything more than a scratching post of West Britain —".

Ní ansin a bhí an buille. Lean se leis faoi rudal eile. Ansin ag deireadh na litreach bhí seo: "— I seem to have read somewhere that Big Sean Blake Dillin had been a clerical student in Maynooth". Chaithfeadh duine an t-íomlan a leamh —.

Talmid faoi chomaoín ag Alan Titley agus ag an Clochomhar. Ma tar lochtal ar an leabhar, to bunus maith anseo le obair an-dheacair. Is feidir bheith ag cur leis.

Mairtín O Cadhain: Clar Saothair. Alan Titley. An Clochomhar. £1.50.

Is íomai duine a shileann go raibh aithne aige ar Mhairtín O Cadhain. An te a leifidh tríd an Chlar Saothair seo, tuigfidh se nach raith aithne aige ach ar chuid de phearsantacht agus de shaothar an Chadhnaigh. Bhí fairsingeacht agus lighneitheacht ag roinnt leis a fhagann saol na coda eile againn cing i gceart. Agus fos ta daoine ann a dearfadh faoi O Cadhain gur eisean a bhí cing!

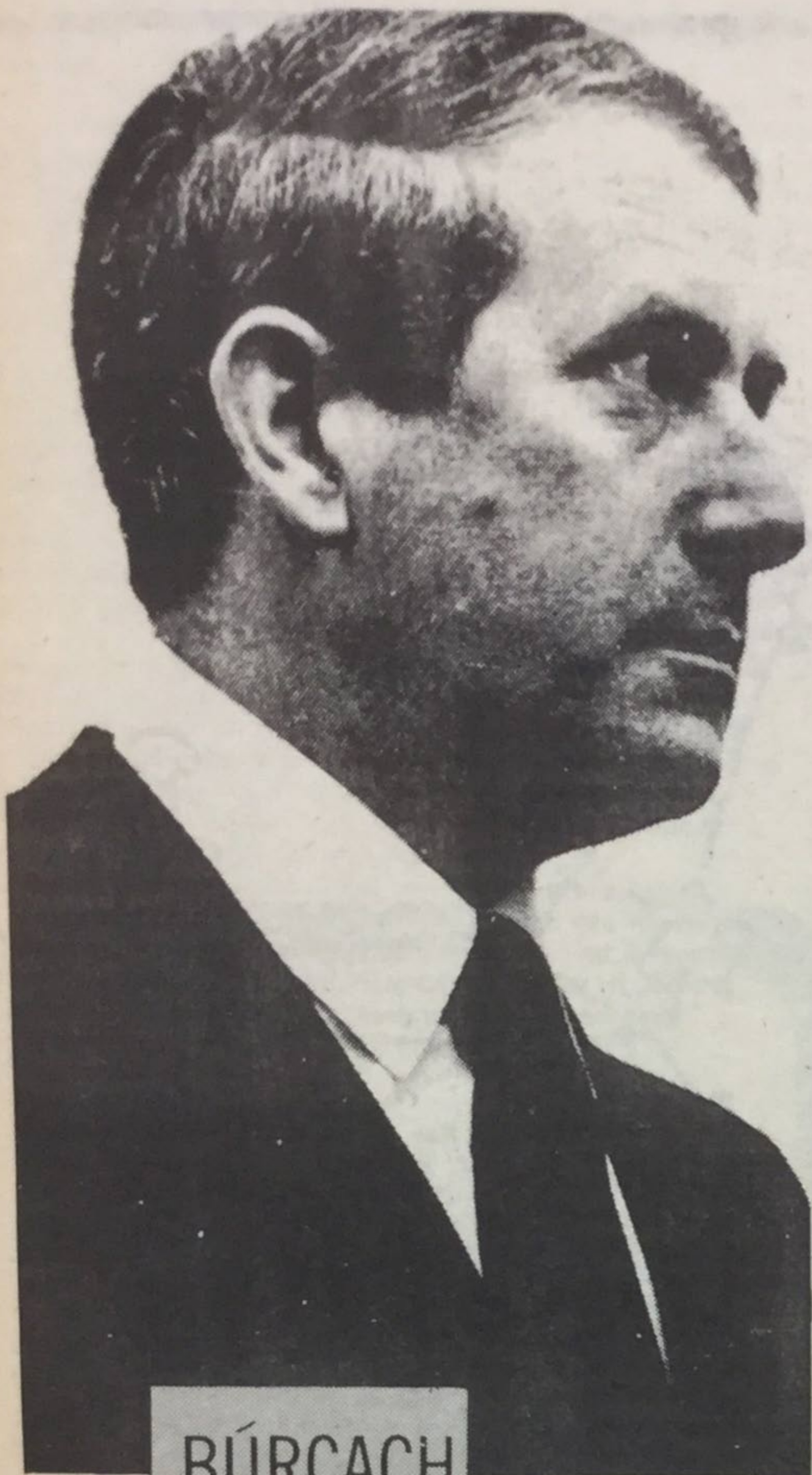
Ta tríocha leathanach de Reamhra leis an gClár fhein. Cuntas ar chuid d'imeachtaí a shaol ata ann a chabhroídh go míor leis on te ata ag cur eolais agus aithne air don chuid uair; agus a chaithfidh leas ar chodanna de shaol doibh suid ata ag ple leis fhein no lena shaothar le fada.

Ta gach saghas abhar sa chlar fein. Saothar cruthaloch. Palmfíeld. Aistriúchán. Bealoideas. Polaitíocht de chuile chineal. Taisteal. An Ghaeltacht. Sport. Oideachas. Leirmheasanna. Allt ar gach saghas

abhair. Ceirníní. Oraidí. Agus go leor eile.

I saothar den chineal seo is feidir a bheith ag suil leis go mbeidh go leor rudal in easnamh. Ta an t-abhar chomh scaipthe go mbeadh se deacair theacht ar gach rud se chead iarracht. Tugann Alan Titley e seo le tuiscint i mbrollach an leabhair: "Thogfadh se na blianta fada gach uile eagra de na nuachtain laethula a chuardach go críochnúil chun teacht ar na litreacha a scríobh se. Da bhí sin, bhí me ag brath cuid mhór ar chuimhni daoine eile chun treoir a thabhairt dom taighde a dheanamh sna treimhsí a raibh se pairteach i geospoidí faoi leith."

Mar sin fhein, ta rudal in easnamh anseo a chuirfeadh iontas ar dhuine: aistriúchán ar dha ghearrsceal on mBriotánais i 'Feasta'; comhfhreagras faoi 'Sheanghaeltach Atha Cliath i 'Feasta' i 1952 nuair a scríobh O Cadhain faoi chupla ainm cleite; alt mor dha leathanach ar an 'Éireannach Aontuithé'



**BÚRCACH
NÓ
BÚRACH**

Bhi Dick Burke (agus a leathmhada an Cruiser) ar na daoine a rinne ologon faoi scoil Dhun Chaoin nuair a bhíodar ag lorg maidi le Fianna Fáil a bhualadh. D'oscail an Búrcach an scoil arís, ach sin an meid. Ligfidh se do dunadh arís ar ball; n' dhunfaidh se féin e. Tweedledee—Tweedledee.

D'fhogair se go mbeadh 25 ag deanamh oibre ar theacsleabhair Ghaeilge. Níl ann go fóill. Tar eis cúpla bliain d'éirigh leis dornan daoine a fhail a bhí 'oiriunach'. Taimid fos ag fanacht ar thorthaí. Cad air a bhfuil siad ag obair? Bhfuilid baite gan tuairisc i gcaochpholl na Roinne Oideachais?

Níl leithscéal an aneolais ag Burke (rud a bhí ag daoine ar nos Lenihan). Is iar-Mhuinteoir agus iar-Bhrathair e féin. Fuair se oideachas trí Ghaeilge. Is breine a chuid simneachta na cuid aon Aire eile de bharr sin. Is leir gur e bun is barr a chuid simne na toghchán eile a bhaint as an abhar seo.

Nil aon scoil

sa

tir ag

muineadh

tri

ghaeilge

"One of the difficulties which deters many schools from making more general use of Irish as a medium of instruction in the absence of an adequate supply of suitable text-books in Irish."

Ni inne na inniu a duradh e sin, ce gur mo den bhfirinne ata anois na ariamh. I 1925 a duradh e. Ta se i dTuarascail na Roinne Oideachais don bhliain 1924-25.

Inniu, nil ach dornan scoileanna fagtha ata ag iarraidh muineadh trí Ghaeilge. Nil aon scoil sa Tir ag muineadh trí Ghaeilge. Fiu sa Ghaeltacht fhein nil se a dheanamh, mar ni feidir e a dheanamh. Nil na leabhair ann. Teacsanna i mBearla ata in usaid go forleathan.

Gheall 'chuile Aire Oideachais o shin a gcearta a chur ar fail do na paisti sin. Ni dheorna siad e. Na Dick Burke ach oiread le Lynch, Lenihan, O'Malley, Hillery, Faulkner etc.

Ta deiseanna ann faoi lathair len a dheanamh nach raibh riamh ann. Ni raibh an Roinn Oideachais riamh sasta saoirse a thabhairt d'eagarthoiri an Ghuim; rinne Folens iarrachtaí fiuntacha le tamall anuas.

Anois ta cuid de na h-eagarthoiri is fearr sa tir i gCois Fharráige; ta clolann acu; taid oilte ar an gceird seo. Ni theastaionn uathu ach gaoth an fhocail. Nil aon chuis nach mbeadh bun-riachtanaisi na scoileanna Gaeltachta le fail taobh istigh de dha bhliain. Ach ce chreideann go mbeidh?

Bionn baill an Rialtais go mórghlorach faoi chearta: cearta an phobail san Iarthar agus san Deisceart chun BBC 1 a fhail; cearta lucht gaimbin chun brabus 'coir' a bhaint amach, etc.

Ceard faoi chearta phaisti na Gaeltachta? An mbeidh feabhas ar bith ar an sceal nuair a fhillfidh siad ar na scoileanna i Mean Fomhair? Nil ach aon blac amhain ar na cearta seo: mi-fhonn an Rialtais.

● Coinnigheann Tully deagh-chuideachta ar nos mulntir mhic an Earnalgh, lucht togala toighe don NBA.



GAELTACHT LAR THIR CHONAILL GAN UISCE

Is deacair a chreidbheall go bhfuil na milte duine sa tir seo go fóill i 1975 nach bhfuil na bun-riachtanaisi daonna, mar shompla uisce 's searachas, acu ina dtoithe. Ach ta se amhlaidh go h-athraithe ins na Gaeltachta na ceantair is direcolle sa tir. Ta mna na Gaeltachta ag brath go mor ar airgead o thurasolri 's mic-leinn ag foghlaim Gaeilge le cur le teacht isteach a dteaglaigh ach san am ceanna ni feidir leis an tionscal seo fas muna bhfuil bun-riachtanaisi airithe acu se sin uisce 's searachas. Bhuel ar thaobh amhain ta an rialtas ag moladh saothar na mban agus fas tionscal na turasolreacht agus ar an lamh eile ta siad ag dultu na bun-riachtanaisi seo doibh. Ta an t-Aire Tully tarels airgead a dhultu do dha cheantair mhóra

sa Ghaeltacht coras uisce 's searachas a bhí pleanailte leis na blianta a chur i gcríoch. Ta ceantair mór Idir Ros a Mhíl agus Leitir Meallain i gConomar agus ceantair mór eile i dtír Chonaill nach bhfuigh aon bhraon uisce i mbliana no bhfeidir go ceann na blianta fada ma thig leis an Aire e. In ainm Chroim nil se ceart na coir toiseacht ag sparail airgid tre bhun-riachtanaisi na ndaoini a dhultu cuma cen praiseach ata deanta den eacnomalocht ach nach muide i gconal a iocas as gach praiseach. Nil baol ar bith gur ar chul clai chaithfidh O Tullaigh cnaipe a scaoileadh na gurlions an t-sruthan a lionfaidh se a chlotal. Baol ar bith a stocaigh!

O'Brien bankrupt

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's recent statement on the outcome of the Northern Convention Elections reveals the total bankruptcy of the Government's Northern policy.

Over the past year the government's policies has allowed the UUUC forces to consolidate themselves. The introduction of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill announced to the world that come what may the Dublin government is prepared to back up British policy to a degree unprecedented in the history of partition.

The UUUC have won an absolute majority of seats in the new Convention. They are committed to the restoration of the old Stormont. The old Stormont system was based on naked sectarian divisions and crude repression. Although the Civil Rights movement achieved many reforms of this system, much of it still remains intact. For the British government to hand over any powers to the UUUC in these circumstances would be to create the conditions for a civil war.

The present situation demands bold measures. The Dublin government should immediately drop the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill. The Fianna Fail alternative of an All-Ireland Court operating a common law enforcement area is equally unacceptable. Sinn Fein believes that the only position which a government with any pretensions of sovereignty can adapt is to maintain the present extradition procedures which dictated by our international obligations. To do otherwise would be to renege totally on our claims to be a sovereign state.

But more is required in the present situation. It was inevitable that UUUC politics would triumph in the present political climate in the North. The British government bears a large measure of the responsibility for that climate. For the past five years no British government has been prepared to spell it out clearly to Loyalist politicians that the old system can be no more.

Instead the people of the North

have seen a continuous backsliding by successive British governments in the face of increasing right wing pressure. This has in turn strengthened right wing forces in Britain as well as in Northern Ireland. Yet it is still not too late. If the Labour government can be forced to listen to the voice of progressive and moderate opinion in the North and in Britain then a policy can be worked out which could save the situation.

Sinn Fein does not accept that the present emphasis on "Power sharing" provides the basis of a democratic programme. In practice, "power sharing" proved incapable of tackling any of the democratic, social or economic problems of the people of the North. It contained nothing which was capable of breaking the hold of reactionary politicians over the Protestant working people. Instead of trying to revive dead systems Sinn Fein believes that the maximum effort should be put into a campaign which would be capable of bypassing Loyalist intransigence in the Convention.

This would require that the Labour government be forced to stop listening to reactionary politicians and business men and start making a reality of the British claim that there is equality for every citizen in the North. The breadth of support for a Bill of Rights for the North makes it a key demand in this context.

There is no democratic basis for any further delay in dismantling the system of repression and sectarianism which Britain now directly maintains in the North. This has not been changed by the results of the Convention elections, in fact those results make it even more urgent than ever that Westminster be forced to take action on this question now. Only on this basis will it be possible to free enough of the Northern working people from the grip of sectarian politics so that they will be capable of tackling the many social and economic problems confronting them today.

Vietnam message

Sinn Fein sent the following message to the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and other anti-imperialist GI's attending demonstrations against Armed Forces Day.

"Like you we hail the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples in their struggles against foreign aggression and its local collaborators. Like you we support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and Zionism. In particular we support the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

The work of building a movement of veterans and GI's to struggle against the exploitation and oppression of US imperialism both in the States and throughout the world is part of the struggle of the peoples

of the world to eradicate imperialism from their midst and build a world free from war. It is a struggle which we in Ireland can fully support because it is our struggle also.

The evils of imperialism are very real for the Irish people. Our country is divided, militarily occupied and exploited by Anglo-American imperialism. But drawing on centuries of resistance to foreign domination our people are slowly but surely building the forces capable of wresting our country from foreign domination. Sinn Fein is in the vanguard of this work. The past year has seen great victories for the forces for peace, friendship among peoples and national independence. May those victories continue. Unity-Struggle-Victory".





● Mr. Keating, friend of the oil multinationals.



● The late Northern Assembly powerless to save the economy.

RESOURCES NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Mr. Keating's supine approach to the oil multinationals on the terms announced for offshore exploration was reinforced by three publicity devices. Firstly Mr. Keating denigrated the extent of our oil and has reserves in an attempt to justify handing them over to the multinationals. Secondly an 80 per cent state take was conjured up by the most dishonest kind of arithmetic. Thirdly the Marathon/Esso monopoly on the most valuable blocks was discreetly pushed into the background.

The following are the facts on these three deceptions. The Celtic Sea is estimated by Dr. Howett of British Petroleum to contain 36 million tons of oil. This means that Ireland has estimated reserves of 22 million tons. Our annual oil consumption by contrast is 6 million tons. The Kinsale strike and the two further

strikes off the South East coast confirm the wealth of this area. Mr. Keating has confirmed the Marathon/Esso group in their ownership of these valuable areas for which they are paid a mere few thousand pounds. This group will now embark on a programme designed to feed their under capacity refineries and petrochemical plants in Europe. As with Tara, the raw material, be it ore or oil, will create manufacturing employment abroad.

In the areas not controlled by Marathon, Mr. Keating gets his magic 80 per cent by merely requiring the companies to pay the normal Company Profits Tax of 50 per cent, plus a royalty of only 10 per cent, and also "reserves" the right to buy up to 50 per cent. Compare this with Britain's 51 per cent Companies Profits Tax, a

12½ per cent Royalty Tax and a Special Petroleum Tax of 45 per cent, together with the right to take a controlling interest in any company.

Thirdly, the Marathon deal has not been disturbed. Their Irish "front" company, Petroleum Royalties of Ireland, controlled by the Bank of Ireland, although it has less than 5 per cent interest in Marathon was nevertheless able to mark Mr. Keating's announcement with a share rise of 69 per cent. This means that bankers and directors who have never gone to sea, sunk a drill or engaged in any productive activity, will continue to watch their profits rise in the coming years. Meanwhile the ESB, with more qualified engineers than the Algerian State Oil Company is kept out of offshore oil production. CIE with the expertise for onshore servicing will continue to cut its staff to

allow consortia such as Tony O'Reilly's Seahorse to exploit CIE's Cobh berth.

While Mr. Keating continues to bluster, the inefficient Irish gommeens continue to take heart. The campaign to prevent a State gas company from providing natural gas as a public service for home heating and cooking was launched on Thursday last by Mr. P. J. Maher of the Irish Gas Association who wants the Government to provide Irish private enterprise with cheap gas which it will then sell at the market price to the consumer.

Sinn Fein urges the workers and technicians of state companies to demand a dynamic and expansionary role to combat the wasteful and destructive activities of the private enterprise sector. We further call for a rally to the national campaign of the Resources Protection Campaign.

NORTH'S ECONOMY IN SHAMBLES

Speaking to a meeting of Republican Clubs members in Newry, Tomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Fein said: "The acute social and economic problems facing the North can never be solved in the free-for-all jungle of the Common Market. The whole economic philosophy of the EEC is to minimise restrictions on the most profitable deployment of capital. One of the factors currently causing the economic crisis in Britain is the growing tendency of major companies to concentrate more and more of their activity outside of Britain, particularly in the EEC countries. This has proved very profitable to them but the cost of that profit has been the stagnation of the British economy.

Particularly hard hit by this development have been the regional areas,

especially Scotland, Wales and the North of Ireland which have been starved of capital and industrial development. Even within the North's tiny economy we can see the same process at work. Of the 91 firms listed in the Finance and Economy Discussion Paper issued by the British Government last year, as having received industrial development assistance, only 20 of them are located west of the Bann where unemployment is highest. The economic reasons for this are exactly the same as those which on a larger scale, draw capital away from peripheral countries of the EEC such as Ireland towards the 'golden triangle' between Milan, Hamburg and London. These reasons are the unrestricted quest for profit.

The industrial development strategy which has been tried in the North since

the war is now in shambles. Despite massive outlays of money to attract the multinationals to set up subsidiaries in the North, unemployment still runs at a constant 7 per cent and while Republicans would argue that a capitalist society cannot permanently provide full employment, nevertheless an alternative economic strategy which placed more reliance on state rather than private enterprise would have had more success in providing employment. But such a strategy is now made more difficult by membership of the EEC.

Mr. MacGiolla said that those who argued that the North, out of the Common Market, would be starved of investment must have been living with their heads in the sand for the last couple of years. Currently private investment is nearly at a

standstill and we are in the Common Market. No new industries have been set up in the North recently and the troubles only explain part of this.

Mr. MacGiolla concluded by dealing with the relation between the EEC and the national question. He said that there were those who justified EEC membership on bogus nationalist grounds. These people argued that Ireland within the EEC would be united. Such arguments completely misrepresented the nature and aims of the EEC. The EEC was formed by former colonial powers who wanted to be in a stronger position to continue the exploitation of their former colonies. It most certainly is not an organisation committed to the national independence and freedom of countries like Ireland which are in the grip of imperialism.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

The following article is a contribution by some female members of Sinn Fein to the on-going struggle to secure women's rights. Some comparisons with Socialist countries are included to illustrate how far the women of Ireland must progress to secure equality with men. So far International Women's Year has barely rippled the surface of Irish life; this article should help to provoke discussion and action.

The unequal position of men and women in society has been taken for granted for centuries. Women have had to conform to social roles, and to endure a secondary position. They have had to stand in the background in education and vocation. Economically, they have been dependent upon their husbands, which has caused this unequal relationship to permeate the family.

But, it has also long since been proven scientifically that women are not slower of understanding, are not less intelligent than men. And the allegations about so-called hereditary factors according to which the female sex is predestined from the very beginning for cooking and washing are likewise myth.



Whether boy or girl, what counts towards one's development is the environment in which the child is born and educated, the opportunities, the school and society that are present.

Fidel Castro stated: "And nature made woman weaker physically than man, but it did not make her morally and intellectually inferior to man. Human society has the duty to prevent this difference in physical strength from becoming a cause for discrimination against women. This is precisely the duty of human society: to establish the norms of coexistence and justice for all."

Bonds

It can be seen throughout the world that numerous laws have been passed pressing for women's equality. These pertain specifically to contraception, divorce, equal opportunities in job hiring and pay. All these issues are elements of the woman's question. They have assumed an acute form in this century only because the modern mode of production must involve women deeply in the industrial

process. As industrialisation has required a vast labour force of men, free to sell their labour; so, too, modern production requires a labour force of women, free to sell their labour.

In other words, you cannot tell somebody that they are free to work in your factory all day without breaking up the bonds that might keep them at home. If they are to be free to work in your factory, they must be free from their husbands, from the dangers of inconvenient childbearing, and from the demands of the family unit.

**WOMEN AT WORK:
SOVIET UNION and IRELAND**
Percentage of women employed in these areas.

SOVIET UNION	
health:	85 p.c.
education/culture:	72 p.c.
distribution:	75 p.c.
agriculture:	44 p.c.
industry:	48 p.c.

51 p.c. of women employed

IRELAND	
professions (health and education):	23 p.c.
distribution:	11 p.c.
agriculture:	9 p.c.
industry (manuf.):	23 p.c.

29 p.c. of women employed

Therefore, the appearance of these laws is not only necessary but inevitable. They should, of course, be struggled for and applauded. But, the fundamental right of women to work, regardless of status, has never been recognised, except in socialist countries. That is to say, that these social issues of women's oppression have been and will be met in the near future — they are crucial if industry is to expand. This reveals two further points:

Secondary

Firstly, the laws for women's equality have failed to deal specifically with the majority of women, the women of the working-class. While it is indeed progressive that the Equal Pay Bill has been passed in Ireland, it will affect less than 20 p.c. of working women; the over-all majority, 80 p.c. of them, are employed in all-female grades. For them, equal pay is non-effective. Thus, while all women face social prejudice and oppression, only working-class women remain trapped in the basic concept of capitalism — low paid, unskilled jobs!

Secondly, these same women who are forced to work because of economic necessity recognise these laws as essential to their survival. Yet, their very labour which is drastically demanded in industry is degraded. Women's work is still considered something extra. The reality, however, proves the opposite: the fall in the man's wage against the rise in inflation has forced married women to look for jobs, not for luxury items but out of

necessity. And, furthermore, 78 p.c. of Irish women working are single, and rely solely upon their own income for support.

Yet, these new freedoms do not protect or, in fact, defend a woman's right to work, and continue to view her labour as secondary to that of a man. Therefore, even though expanding industry will require women's labour, thus placing them permanently in the economy, women will continue to be flung into and out of industry during periods of economic crisis. Their labour, viewed as extra and cheaper than a man's, though essential, takes second place next to the man's, whose right to work has always been recognised.

Development

This inequality, though, has not always existed. In primitive society, women's work was on an equal footing with that of men, whose economic activity was hunting. Frederick Engels, in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, described this process. Under "primitive agriculture, women played a principal role in production; they performed the

main functions while the men roamed the forests in quest of game".

The transition to the kind of production that predominated under patriarchy came with the creation and development of tools from stone and metals. The principal instruments shifted to the spear, the lasso, the bow and arrow.

Surplus

These tools increased production in all areas — cattle-raising, agriculture, and domestic handicrafts — thus giving human labour power the capability to create a surplus. With increased productivity in new areas, and consequently, of wealth, the first great social division of labour evolved. That is to say, that stock-breeding took prominence over domestic agriculture for the acquisition of necessities.

The herds became the main source of essentials — and the dominant economic role passed to the man. The right to private property — to own the means of production — further allowed this new wealth from the herds to remain solely with the man rather than be shared among the community. All

● This mural to the dignity of womanhood was painted by Philadelphia workers, U.S.A.





surplus fell to the man; the woman shared in its enjoyment but had no part in the ownership.

This same economic transformation was echoed in the family. Domestic labour, which had previously meant women's importance, now meant her isolation and drudgery. "The domestic labour of the woman no longer counted beside the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man; that the latter was everything, and the former an unimportant extra."

Women's duties were reduced to child-bearing, and caring for the husband — domestic service. In part, the women's role was determined by her partial immobility. But, in the main, the division of

vocational training was indeed limited — limited precisely to cooking, sewing and child-bearing. Reinforcing the woman's economic role in the home was the whole ideology of woman's weakness, stupidity, and frailty. Thus, it is obvious that women's ability to learn and work is not determined by her sexuality or man's hatred of woman but by the economic priorities that have placed women in the home to raise and care for the present and next generation of workers.

Labour

It was not until the introduction of modern industrial production that women could find a path out of isolated domesticity. Expanding industry positively demands the active participation of women in the work force. In Ireland, the transition from a feudal society to a capitalist one has seen the transfer of 157,000 women, or half the female labour force, into industry.

This same movement is echoed in the fact that during Connolly's time for every 100 people working, 80

were engaged in agricultural activity, while only 20 p.c. were engaged in non-agricultural activity, either manufacturing or service. Today, these figures are exactly reversed. Industry has demanded women in factories, and has therefore forced the break-up and emigration from agricultural society, and brought women out of the home. This process is inevitable.

Domestic

As the industrial sphere expands, it gains greater prominence over the domestic sphere. Lenin viewed this development with his usual clarity:

"Speaking of the transformation brought about by the factory in the conditions of life of the population, it must be stated that the drawing of women and juveniles into production is, at bottom, progressive. . . . By destroying the patriarchal isolation of these categories of the population who formerly never emerged from the narrow circle of domestic, family relationships, by drawing them into direct participation in social production, large-scale machine industry stimulates their

development and increases their independence, in other words, creates conditions of life that are incomparably superior to the patriarchal immobility of pre-capitalist relations."

Emancipation

In Lenin's revolution, the socialisation of home duties, i.e. education, creches, laundries, restaurants, etc., were the means to "liberate women from 'domestic slavery', and to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery". These demands must be raised to allow women the freedom to work.

"The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time." As economic priorities placed women in the home with specific tasks, it now demands her outside the home in social produc-

CUBA

FAMILY LAW:

"Rights and duties of husband and wife: Both partners must care for the family they have created and each must co-operate with the other in education and upbringing, and guidance of the children regardless of whether one partner works primarily outside the home. Both partners have the RIGHT TO PRACTISE THEIR PROFESSION OR SKILL and they have the duty of helping each other and co-operating."

DIVORCE:

Divorce can only be obtained by judicial decree. It is effected by COMMON agreement or when the court determines that there are factors which have led the marriage to lose its meaning for the partners and for the children, thus, for society as a whole. Either partner can take action to obtain a divorce, which can be taken at any time as long as the situation which motivated it exists.

tion. Only by entering social production, with the protected right to work, will women reach beyond formal equality before the law to **full equality in life**. Only the right to work recognises that women have an important and necessary role to play in society not on the side-lines! Only this recognition will further demand that women receive equal education and training.

Socialism

But capitalism, which places profits first, will never recognise women's right to work because women are considered a surplus, cheap labour force. Therefore, if women are to achieve full emancipation in life, this can occur **only under socialism** which recognises women's important contribution to society. The socialist countries long ago saw that equal education and training/re-training, creches, child-food programmes, paid maternity and paternity leave are essential if women and men are to be equal participants in society, each with the right to work guaranteed.

As Lenin said — We must "shift the function of housekeeping and education from the individual household to society. Woman is thus relieved from her old domestic slavery and dependence on her husband. She is then enabled to give her capabilities and inclinations full play in society."



● Women members of Frelimo at an education seminar.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Of gainfully employed women in the GDR:

52 p.c. have completed vocational training

46 p.c. of all skilled workers are women

APPRENTICE TRAINING:

percentage female

79 p.c. data processing

75 p.c. skilled chemical workers

52 p.c. precision mechanics

64 p.c. animal breeders

35.5 p.c. of all apprentices undergoing training as skilled production workers are women.

labour was catapulted by a changing economic emphasis that placed domestic labour second to social labour.

This transition in prominence is not reversible. The fact that domestic labour was reduced to a secondary role meant that society could expand, produce luxuries, and progress industrially. This could not have occurred if concentrated production took place individually within the home. Thus, those feminists who demand that a wage be set to housework are ignoring the economic realities and pursuing a reactionary position.

Likewise, the fact that women's work was reduced to routine household chores in isolation meant that her need for educational and

GARDAI

INJURE

PRISONERS

Cabhair — the Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Committee is gravely concerned at the events in Portlaoise Prison on Sunday last which resulted in considerable injuries to 10 Republican Prisoners. The following detailed account is based on a statement made by Martin Tierney a remand prisoner who was today released on bail by the Dublin District Court.

At about 1.00 p.m. on Saturday last the Republican prisoners were locked in their cells without any explanation being given. Between 5.00 and 6.00 p.m. all mattresses were removed from the cells. The mattresses were later returned but at 8.00 p.m. all beds and blankets were removed from their cells. The prisoners were also asked to hand over their shoes and they agreed to do this. Beds and blankets were later returned but the shoes were not.



Mr. Cooney, Minister for Justice.

At about 3.00 p.m. on Sunday a force of Gardai and warders entered the wing in which the Republican Prisoners were held. All beds, blankets, and mattresses were again removed. A short time later the prisoners were asked to hand over all anoraks and jackets. They said they would not do this until their shoes had been returned. At this stage the prisoners had been without shoes for about 20 hours. Anoraks and jackets

were forcibly removed from all but one of the prisoners. Three of the 13 prisoners were locked in their cells and the remaining 10 retreated down a corridor which they barricaded with a table-tennis table.

A short time later a large force of Gardai in riot equipment moved into the wing. The O.C. of the Republican Prisoners moved forward to the barricade to inform the authorities that their token protest was over and that the last anorak would be handed over, but he was savagely beaten to the ground. The Gardai then removed the table and systematically set about assaulting the other 9 prisoners. All prisoners were knocked to the ground, beaten about the head and shoulders with batons and kicked on their bodies and were dragged by the hair back to their cells.

The prisoners asked for medical assistance at about 5.00 p.m. and at 8.00 a doctor gave them a cursory examination. They then received treatment from a medical orderly (warder). Three of the prisoners had been knocked unconscious but requests for X-rays were turned down. The doctor played no part in the treatment and the stitches were inserted by the orderly.

The following is a list of the injuries received by some of the prisoners:

Pairic McCoy: Knocked unconscious — required five stitches for head wound — has four cracked ribs.

Martin Tierney: Received four stitches for head wound. Severe facial bruising.

John McCaul: Knocked unconscious. Suspected dislocated left shoulder. Considerable bruising on left leg, back and head.

Jim McSorley: Received broken finger and bruising on arms.

Patrick Cosgrove: Head would require stitches and cuts and abrasions on hands.

Roland Giles: Several stitches required for head wounds.

Ronnie Deehan: Stitches required for head wound.

The five prisoners who appeared on remand in the Dublin District Court today, were brought from Portlaoise without shoes. A request from the legal representative of the men that they be allowed an independent medical examination while in the Bridewell was turned down by the Gardai although a

doctor was on standby.

No explosives or other illicit material were found in the section of the prison occupied by Official Republican prisoners.

The committee of Cabhair is very concerned at the serious situation in Portlaoise Prison. The severe injuries received by the 10 men is a matter of urgent public importance and we demand that an impartial doctor be allowed to immediately undertake an independent medical examination.

Cabhair is particularly concerned that the Official Republican Prisoners, who are very much in a minority in the jail, have been repeatedly victimised for the activities of other prisoners. The attempt of Saturday last to smuggle a quantity of explosives into another section of the prison would seem to have been the excuse used for Sunday's attack on the Official Republican Prisoners.

Some weeks ago, in a public statement, Cabhair warned that the inhuman conditions in Portlaoise, particularly in relation to visitors would lead to further trouble. In that statement we called for a public enquiry. Such an enquiry is now essential if further serious injury or loss of life is to be prevented.

I.R.A. denies attack

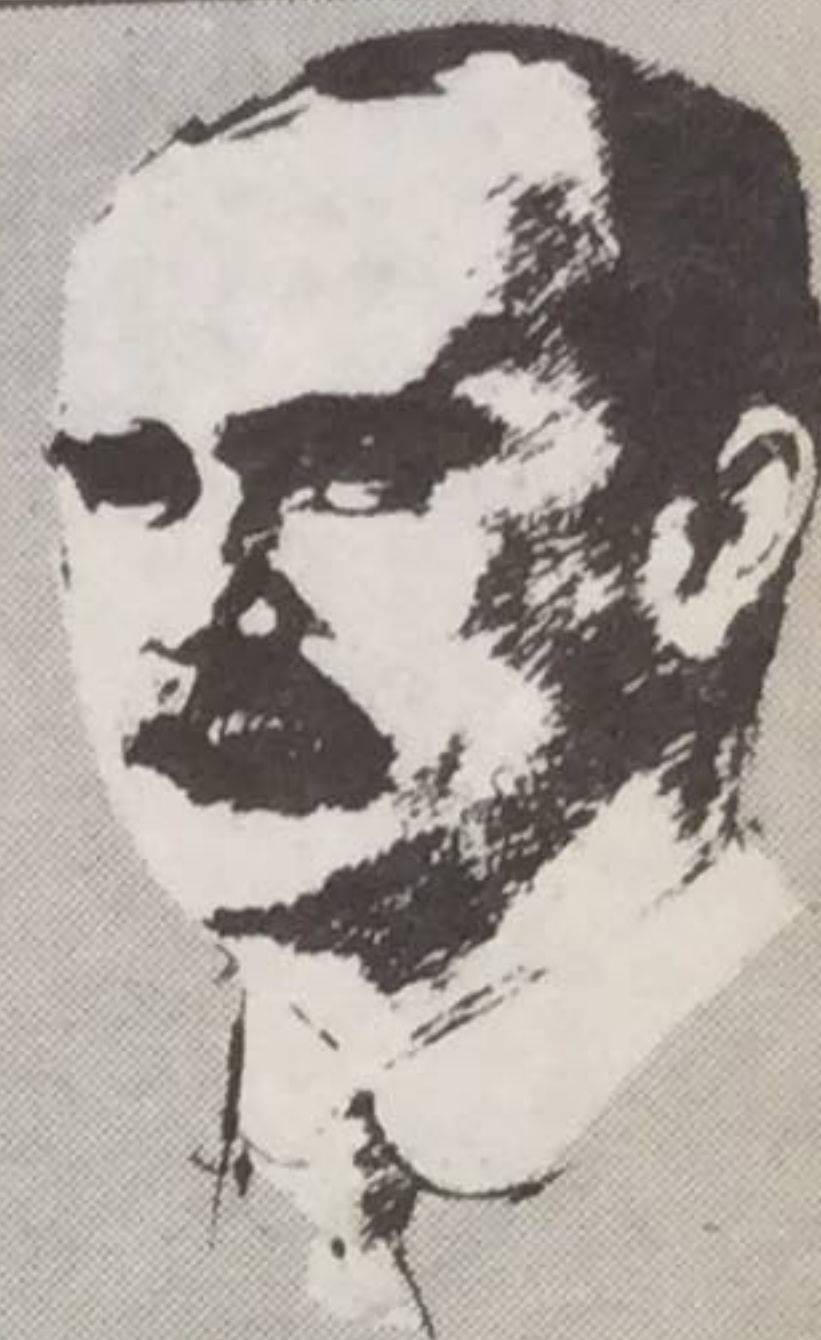
The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau has been asked to release the following statement issued by G.H.Q., Irish Republican Army.

"Mr. Costello has accused the Irish Republican Army of

an attempt on his life. The Irish Republican Army did not shoot at Mr. Costello.

"The I.R.S.P. have murdered several members of the Republican Movement: Sean Fox, Paul Crawford and Liam McMillen. They have also attempted to discredit our movement in every possible way. It seems reasonable to assume that their statement in relation to a number of shots which were fired at a car and which did not hit anyone — is part of their continuing efforts to discredit the Irish Republican Army."

J. J. McGarrity, Runai.



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. Barry Doyle 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 _____

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Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration

Bodenstown, Sunday, June 22, 1975

ASSEMBLE SALLINS 2.30 p.m.

Speaker: Cathal Goulding. Chairman: Frank McGlade. Chief Marshall: Mick Ryan.

TRAIN DEPARTS HEUSTON STATION, DUBLIN 1.30p.m. DEPARTS SALLINS 6.30p.m.

All Sinn Fein Cumainn and Republican Clubs are requested to carry available banners. Banners of other organisations including Trade Union branches, housing action groups, Tenants Associations may be carried subject to the permission of the Chief Marshall.