

UNITED IRISHMAN

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TERRORISM THE ENEMY OF ALL *Garland*

Sinn Féin the Workers' Party General Secretary, Sean Garland in a strong attack on terrorism said, "Our party has time and time again made our position clear as regards to terrorism. We absolutely reject and condemn the gangsters who have done so much over the past ten years to set back the aims and interests of the vast majority of the people of this country the working class". He was speaking to the members of the Irish Democratic Youth Movement attending a weekend school at Mornington, Co. Louth

In the course of his address the Party Secretary analysed the responses of some of the politicians to recent atrocities.

"It is clear that the Fianna Fail party are living in the shadow of the gunmen. Continually they must keep looking over their shoulders at such people as Neil Blaney who boasted of his role in forming the Provisional Alliance. One cannot expect that they can deal totally, because of many internal strains and stresses, with terrorist gangs even though the vast majority of the people in the Republic demand and would support such action," he stated.

Disregard

"Euro delegate John Taylor is in some ways a mirror image of the Fianna Fail government. Feeling that he was overshadowed by Dr. Paisley at the

opening of the Strasbourg Assembly he now howls for the dogs of war to be unloosed by Northern para-military groups. Where one would have expected a serious political response one is appalled at the total disregard for politics by a man who would claim to be a politician," Garland continued. "It is clear that the UDA in their response appreciated the demented nature of Taylor's ravings and that they will no longer be used by either Taylor, Paisley or Craig."

On the other hand their is the response of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. His quasi-religious view of the problem facing Northern Ireland in no way helps to bring about unity of the people rather it reinforces those who benefit from perpetuating existing divisions"

"Sinn Féin The Workers' Party states quite clearly that the answer to terrorism is mass democratic action by the people, through the trades unions,



● General Secretary Sean Garland

tenant's associations, in factories, in universities, wherever people are organised."

"The victory over terrorism must be seen to be a victory for democracy," he stressed.

Excuses

"It is appalling how some groups purporting to be on the left can seek to make excuses for mindless acts of violence. They claim to be marxists and opposed to terrorism but immediately they qualify this position. Let us make it absolutely crystal clear that there can be no 'buts' in relation to terrorism," Garland declared.

"I have already mentioned the need for democratic action against terrorism. In the past we have sought to mobilise the Left in Ireland. We are still firmly committed to principled Left Unity; we also would seek to bring together all parties who are convinced that democracy can solve our problems."

"The Irish Democratic Youth Movement has a role to play in winning the country's young people to the same position. The Party is confident that you are not only eager to embark upon that task but capable of bringing it to fruition," Sean Garland concluded.

Sherlock for Cork North East

At a convention held in Fermoy last month Councillor Joe Sherlock, Mallow, was unanimously selected to be the Party candidate for the bye-election to be held in North East Cork before the end of the year.

This important bye-election — the first since the present government took office two years ago — was caused by the recent death of Fianna Fáil T.D. Sean Brosnan.

RECORD VOTE

Since 1969 the four-seater constituency has returned two Fianna Fáil and two Fine Gael deputies. However, having topped the poll in the recent local elections with a record vote Joe Sherlock is expected to make a change in the situation this time around.

An employee of Mallow sugar factory, Joe Sherlock is current Chairperson of Mallow U.D.C. and has been a County Councillor for the past five years.

It is expected that the bye-election in Cork city caused by the death of Labour Deputy Pat Kerrigan will be held the same day as the north east election.

HIGH STANDARDS

The voters in both of these Cork constituencies will expect more from their candidates than the fact that they have togged out with the county GAA teams.

Any attempt by the Government or Coalition parties to treat the people of Cork with such contempt will receive the answer it deserves.

The workers of Cork city and county will choose representatives on whom they can depend. Joe Sherlock's unblemished record of work on behalf of his constituents will make the voters task very easy on polling day.

TORY DUTCH AUCTION

LEADING BRITISH TRADE UNIONISTS are describing the economic policy of Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as 'mad monetarism'. In plain man's language it means that the major tool in the Tory economic box is unemployment. Rising prices (inflation) are to be kept down by the simple means of making certain that workers cannot buy the goods in the shops.

As a widely respected British journal the *New Statesman* put it last month the Tory victory has turned "the British economy into an adventure playground for the fantasies of Sir Keith Joseph and Sir Geoffrey Howe. The first 100 days of Thatcherism have shown plenty of signs of what is happening; the monetarist fantasy is being allowed full sway and is ensuring that Britain will face a major recession."

Ice Age

The grim implications of the Tory policy for Northern Ireland are reflected in the views of the Belfast daily the *Newsletter* normally not particularly hostile to Toryism. "Under the new U.K. Government a chilly blast is sweeping the country that seems certain to be the precursor of an industrial ice age ahead."

Severe cuts in expenditure in a wide variety of fields are inevitably causing increased unemployment" (August 27, 79)

The totally vicious character of the Thatcher programme is now only beginning to be appreciated. The Basher of Downing Street's public spending cuts are directed at the most vulnerable sections of the community; the old age pensioners, the under fives, those in need of remedial education, the young unemployed and those in flagging industries long maintained by Labour Government subsidies.

Pickings

Alongside of the swingeing cuts the Tories have embarked on the dutch auction of the century. Apart from selling off local council owned housing which is a bloody-minded anti-social measure, the Tories are determined to provide their capitalist backers with rich pickings from the sale of Government owned assets.

It should be noted by all on the Left that it is the areas of highest unemployment, Scotland, Northern England, Wales and Northern Ireland which will suffer most from Government property coming under the hammer.

The shipbuilding industry in particular and for Northern Ireland this would prove disastrous will certainly be auctioned off to the highest bidder. The Tories are intent upon punishing the workers of industrial Britain for voting Labour. However the workers of Northern Ireland need expect no gratitude for keeping the Powells and Paisleys in Westminster.

Tragedy

It is clear that the total impact of the Tory policies on Northern Ireland are going to be felt immediately this Winter and unless they are reversed will stretch well into the Eighties. A recession in Britain will manifest itself in Northern Ireland as a crisis of incalculable proportions.

The tragedy is that discussions about the Northern economy are taking place in a vacuum in spite of the efforts of the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the various Trades Councils to promote the urgency of such debate.

If there is to be concerted effort by workers, Democrats and the Centre-Left parties to oppose the Tory programme then it is vital that a democratic political forum be established without delay. Republican Clubs The Workers' Party have presented their programme to enable such a step, Peace, Work and Democracy. It is up to the other parties to respond.

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UNITED IRISHMAN

An tEireannach Aontaithe

STAGNATION

One of the most overworked words in the media vocabulary is crisis. Yet no leader writer or journalist can avoid it when describing or commenting upon either the Irish, British or European societies and economies.

The extent and depth of the various crises facing the Irish people however are often obscured by the actions of terrorist gangs and factions. Headlines which should be devoted to constantly drawing the population's attention to the desperate straits of the Irish economy are given over to the most recent bloody act of these criminal gangs. The murder of Lord Louis Mountbatten and two children is but the latest example.

While it would be absolutely wrong to say that governments welcome such terrorist acts it is equally true that they enable a government to continue with a bungling policy of inertia while faced with the gravest social and economic problems.

Consider for example the current economic situation in both Ireland and Britain. We are faced with massive cut-backs in public spending, a certain sharp upturn in the numbers of unemployed, an energy and fuel crisis, massive imbalance in the balance of payments, a falling growth rate in the economies and in the case of the Republic a serious fall in the value of the punt.

The indices of a stagnant, indeed declining economy are matched on the social front not only by the actions of the terrorists but by such critical factors, for example, as the severe housing shortage and the threat to the publicly owned housing stock in both the Republic and Northern Ireland, the gross overcrowding and inequitable conditions prevailing within the education systems, and not least the widespread anxiety among our youth as to their future.

In the Republic we approach mid-term in the Fianna Fáil government's reign and it is clear that the problems listed are as far away from resolution as in the heady days of their entry into power.

Indeed it is not unjust to talk of the collapse of determination of the present government in face of the manifest difficulties besetting the country. The question of our oil resources is one of the most glaring and appalling examples.

In North East Cork and Cork City voters will have an opportunity to inform the government that their record will not be tolerated. These by-elections, Sinn Féin The Workers' Party will contest both, are certain to be a strong indicator of the country's intentions come the next general election.

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Letters

A Chara,

The article in last month's *United Irishman* about industry in the Cork region was a timely one. The Greater Cork area, including the City, the Harbour area and encompassing towns such as Cobh, Midleton, Ballincollig and Carrigaline, is rapidly becoming one of the premier industrial regions in the country.

The Industrial Development Authority in its current 1978-1982 Plan, hope to create 5,800 new jobs in the area and the population is expected to increase by 30% in the next twelve years.

Two features should be noted concerning industry and employment in the Greater Cork area. The first is the fall-off in jobs in the native private sector. Long-established firms such as Mahony's of Blarney, which thrived under cheap labour and protectionism, simply closed down and threw hundreds of people out of work. Other firms, such as Youghal Carpets, ran into serious financial difficulties and discarded many more workers.

This firm is often held up as an example of a "successful" native industry, yet two years ago over 200 of its employees were made redundant, and the company is presently in debt to the Banks to the tune of £13 million. Firms such as Carrigaline Pottery have had to be bailed out by the taxpayers through For Teoranta, and the jobs of its 240 workers have been on the line for several years.

The second feature of industry in the Cork region is that most of the job-creation in the manufacturing sector has been done by multi-national corporations and Irish state companies. The presence of the multi-nationals is very noticeable all over the area. In Glounthaune Primary School near the Little Island industrial estate, for example, there are now children of eight different nationalities attending.

Whether it is Topps from the USA making bubble gum, Mitsui of Japan making chemicals or Hanimec of Australia making photographic equipment, the multi-nationals are giving jobs to people who would otherwise be unemployed or working in London today. That is one reason why the Trade Union movement in Cork is now bigger than it has been for many years.

The Irish state companies are not as numerous as the multi-nationals, but they do have one of the largest plants. The N.E.T. fertilizer plant at Marina Point, using natural gas as its raw material, is one of the biggest and most modern in all of Europe, and already has orders worth £150 million.

Another important state company is Irish Steel which, despite recent difficulties, is now engaging in a £40 million modernisation and expansion programme at Haulbowline. Also expanding, to the tune of £3 million, is the machinery division of the Sugar Company, which had to contend with recent threats from the farmers that they might not grow any beet because of the 2% levy. At Aghada, near Whitegate, the E.S.B. will shortly commence generating electricity at a

new plant, the first of its type in Ireland.

Burning natural gas is not seen as the most economic form of energy production, but a growing population and greater industrialisation will require substantially greater amounts of electricity in the coming years. A smelter, for example, needs as much electricity as a reasonably large town.

It is obvious, therefore, that many changes have occurred in the Greater Cork area in the past decade. It is equally obvious that in the coming decade a growing industrial working-class will demand the political changes necessary to improve the living conditions of all the people.

There are still several thousand who are unemployed, and so further industrialisation must be a priority. As prospecting for minerals increases, and as old mines in West Cork are re-opened, the Harbour can be the site of a new smelter. It is now ten years since Little Island was considered a potential site.

The three oil companies who own the refinery at Whitegate, where only 40% of our requirements are presently refined, must be compelled to expand substantially. The local Chamber of Commerce and FUE might wish to turn the clock back to the fifties, when thousands of Corkonians streamed onto the old "Innisfallen" for jobs in Britain.

Those who stayed were glad of a job, irrespective of the wages or trade union negotiating rights. Now, however, the situation is more hopeful and there is only one way forward — into the Industrialised Eighties.

John Kelleher

34 Silverheights Drive,
Mayfield,
Cork.

Sir,

As editor of the letters of Brendan Behan, I wonder whether any of your readers might have letters, postcards or any information useful to this edition. Any material sent will be acknowledged and returned promptly.

Professor E.H. Mikhail

University of Lethbridge,
Alberta,
Canada.

Sir,

I refer to the piece about me in the June issue of the *United Irishman*. To state, as you did, that I visited South Africa on a trip subsidised by the South African Government is an untruth. I feel it is a slur on my professional ability, both that I would not have disclosed such an interest and that it influenced the article I subsequently wrote.

I went to South Africa on holiday. What I wrote was commissioned by our Features Editor after I returned so it was of necessity an impressionistic piece, not a serious piece of investigative journalism. I had not gone there to write and I did not, to my knowledge, meet any member of the South African Government while there. As I stated in the two part piece I was on holiday, I met hardly any

blacks and I set out to give a white view point only. I do not agree with apartheid so I find it difficult to understand how you found the article 'pro apartheid'. I merely wrote on how I found South Africa.

Your second point of criticism I heartily accept but did you not consider that I might have been toasting Margaret Thatcher's victory as a victory for feminism. If you read a piece I wrote in the *Irish Times* of April 20th you will understand exactly why I was so pleased.

I would ask you, as editor, to print a correction to your assertion that I was a guest of the South African Government. To let it stand could damage my reputation as an impartial journalist.

Renagh Holohan

Irish Times,
Dublin 1.

Dear Editor,

The Republican Clubs have reiterated their call for Tyrone County Hospital to be spared from the Tory spending cuts. In a statement, commenting on the big protest march held in Omagh last month, the Omagh Branch of the Republican Clubs The Workers' Party said:

The massive turn-out at the demonstration clearly shows the strength of feeling in the Omagh area against the proposed down-grading of Tyrone County Hospital. Thousands of people, many of whom had never taken part in a protest march before, came together to make their voice heard.

The march must surely demonstrate to all those who took part the power which working people can have in their hands by coming together; the organisers are to be heartily congratulated for a well-planned parade.

It is now imperative that this great public protest should not be allowed to dwindle away when faced with the inevitable government intransigence but should be translated into concrete action. The doctrinaire Tory bureaucrats must not be allowed to get away with this latest assault upon the rights of ordinary people — in this case possibly the right to life itself.

Trade unionists are in an excellent position to use their strength to fight these cuts. Community groups should be encouraged to keep up the pressure by organising pickets etc. Those Northern Ireland M.P.s, of both green and orange shades, who combined to bring down the last Labour government, must not be allowed to escape without blame.

These Unionist and S.D.L.P. MPs were instrumental in bringing this Tory government into office and they should now be constantly lobbied to face the consequences of their actions and fight the disastrous spending cuts wherever they occur.

Health and education are basic human rights — they cannot be bartered under any circumstances.

Richard Dunphy

Secretary,
Omagh Branch,
R.C.T.W.P.

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Massive increase in profits from sheep

Livestock production on the land in the 26 Counties is continuing to fall. The cattle herd is down by 50,000 in the last year and the number of breeding lowland ewes has shown a steady decline over a number of years.

Farmers are being encouraged to cut back on milk production. There are two EEC schemes being drawn on this year for this purpose. One scheme pays out to the farmer who stops sending milk to the creamery and the other scheme pays out to the farmer who has the dairy herd slaughtered.

Output

In 1965 sheep and wool accounted for over 6% of the National Gross Agricultural output. By 1977 this had decreased to 3%. Between 1965 and 1975 the number of holdings with sheep fell by almost one third; in 1975 less than 20% of all holdings over one acre had breeding ewes. The biggest decreases occurred in the counties of mid and north Leinster.

Hill breeding flock numbers expanded after the introduction of the Mountain Sheep Subsidy Scheme in 1966. There was a particularly rapid expansion between 1968 and 1973. In 1978 the national breeding flock was almost equally divided between hill and lowland flocks.

Profits per sheep per acre showed a steady increase between 1972 and 1977 — £28 was the 1972 average profit and £65 the 1977 figure. The profits given are for lowland sheep and although their numbers were declining sharply they were showing much better profits than the hill sheep which were increasing in numbers. A subsidy was paid on mountain sheep.

Increase

Profits on mountain sheep per ewe per acre increased from £4.5 to £9 between 1972 and 1977. These figures apply to Scottish Blackface flocks. Cheviot paid a better profit from £9.6 for 1972 to £24.1 for 1977. The subsidy accounted for 16% of the gross profit per ewe in Cheviot flocks and 31% of the profit in Blackface flocks.

It is a bit of a mystery why many farmers have given up lowland sheep production because profits for sheep products did not decline in relation to returns on products from other farm enterprises. Farm Management Survey figures from 1972 to 1977 show that gross profits per acre for lowland sheep were



Increased profits from sheep production add to the boom in farm incomes.

consistently better than for dry cattle. They were not, of course, as good as profits per acre for creamery milk or cereal production.

Agreement

Since the agreement between Ireland and France in December 1977 profit per acre for sheep has increased rapidly. Profits from sheep

production in 1978 are estimated to have increased by 71%. Even on Blackfaced Hill flocks profits have increased by 20% between 1977 and 1978. In view of the profitability of sheep it seems strange that the Irish national flock numbers only 3 millions while the British national flock is about 20 millions.

Northern trade unionists defend Public Sector

The Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions issued a special report this year which shows what Northern Ireland workers are really concerned about. Comments cover the whole range of the Northern economy as well as questions of trade union organisation.

Trade unionists in Northern Ireland are concerned about the decision to sell about 25% of the stock of existing public sector housing. There was also criticism of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive to go outside their own organisation for consultation when staff are employed who are well qualified to carry out these functions.

CONCERN

Conference was concerned about public expenditure — a matter now under attack by the Tory Government. Some people at the conference stated that the Tories, if elected, would make cuts in public expenditure. It was agreed at conference to oppose, with every means at their disposal, any further cuts in public expenditure which could mean

not only less jobs in the public sector, but also a drop in the 'social wage'.

Congress wants Northern public expenditure to be on a par with the rest of the UK. To ensure that government financial assistance to new economic enterprises is provided in such a way that a reasonable proportion of the profits of these firms must be reinvested in Northern Ireland.

CONDEMNED

The Northern Ireland Committee is pledged to efforts to secure a separate Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland and condemned the misleading propaganda put out by the government on human rights in Northern Ireland.

The cost of living was also a matter for concern and conference deplored the failure of the Northern Ireland office to identify in precise terms the difference in the cost of living between Northern Ireland and other parts of the UK. It called for the publication of statistics detailing the exact difference in costs.

Harland and Wolff, the pride of Northern Ireland's engineering industry is in serious decline. In 1959 the yard employed 20,000 and, if the Tory Government have their way, it will soon employ only 6,000.

The rapid expansion of shipbuilding in Belfast began in the late 1880s when the steel steamship was rapidly replacing sail on the high seas. The Belfast Yard produced 1,000 tons of shipping in 1850 and almost 14,000 tons in 1880. In 1890 over 100,000 tons a year was being produced; between 1900 and 1910 a regular 150,000 tons was turned out each year.

EQUALLED

The year 1911 was one of Belfast Shipyard's best years with a record 184,000 tons produced. This was not equalled until 1960 and the best year of all was 1967.

During the war years — from September 1939 to August 1945 — over 170 warships were built in Belfast. These included Aircraft Carriers, Cruisers, Frigates, Minesweepers, Corvettes and landing craft. At the same time 10% of the merchant ships of the UK were built there.

LINKED

The production of aircraft in Northern Ireland — another important part of the engineering industry there — was also linked to war-work. In 1918 Harland and Wolff, with Hadley Page, began to manufacture a four-engined 150ft. wing-span bomber. It was the largest aircraft designed at the time.

In 1938 Harland and Wolff and Short Brothers began aircraft production with contracts for 50 Bristol Bombay transport planes. In 1940 work began on the manufacture of the four-engined Stirling, the first of the heavy bombers. Altogether 2,381 Stirling were built in six years. Another military aircraft built in Belfast was the Southerland flying boat.

In the 1950s Shorts built Canberras and Bristol Britannias under contract. They also produced computers, hydraulic systems, special purpose vehicles, carpet sweepers, aircraft seating and missiles.

LARGEST

"The Belfast" was the first long-range strategic freighter built for the RAF. When it went into service in 1966 it was the largest aircraft to have been used by the RAF.

In 1939 the labour force in aircraft production at Belfast had built up to 7,500 and during the war the numbers doubled. By 1951 the total had fallen to 6,000. In 1960 it was said that there were reasonable prospects that a workforce of 6,000 would be maintained for several years.

Harland & Wolff in decline

The Harland and Wolff shipyard has now been modernised at a cost of over £80 millions — nearly all of it government money. Accusations have been made that the yard is being propped up with government money so that it can keep at least 8,000 employed. Since the Tory Government took office this is certainly not true.

BENEFITS

The yard generates a lot of employment throughout Northern Ireland; it is estimated that 20,000 people benefit from spin-off jobs. The yard built the first oil rig for BP — "Sea Quest" — and launching the rig from a conventional slipway was regarded as a feat at the time.

The present Chairman of Harland and Wolff, often described as a "former property boss", Sir Brian Morton, does not favour building oil rigs at the yard. He believes that it is their job to build ships and that shipping should have priority as long as they can get orders.

He claims that oil rig building and ship building do not mix well.

OPINION

If the yard, in the Chairman's opinion, relied solely on oil related work then it could not maintain all its labour force. It is not going to do this now under the Tories in any case. They could build oil rigs, he said, in seeming contradiction to some other statements, if they got plenty of advance notice.

What will the yard do if it does not get orders for ships? In the Chairman's opinion they should construct hotels, plant or works as a complete entity on steel rafts in the Belfast dock for shipment as a complete unit.

AMENITIES

He believes that this would be a boon to some countries lacking in amenities where sewage, water, labour and technological knowledge is a problem. It seems that they have no order yet but plenty of enquiries — they are turning their attention to anything that floats!

Some shipyards will be closed down and the yards which will stay open will obviously have the most modern equipment and techniques. But is the level of investment in the yard sufficient to enable it to go on the survival list?



WORKERS' WORLD

NICARAGUA: On July 19, the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua announced the makeup of their new cabinet.

The cabinet is headed by Tomás Borge, one of the founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), who will be Minister of the Interior.

The other ministers are: defense: Bernardino Larios (colonel expelled from the National Guard); foreign affairs: Miguel D'Escoto (priest); finance: Joaquín Cuadra Chamorro; planning: Roberto Mayorga (economist); public works and transportation: Dionisio Marengo; settlement and housing: Miguel E. Vigil; industry and trade: Noel Rivas; agriculture: José Manuel Torres; agrarian reform: Ricardo Coronel; labor: Virgilio Godoy; social security: Reinaldo Tefel; public health: César Amador; social welfare: Lea Guido de López; education: Carlos Tunnerman; culture: Ernesto Cardenal (priest).

The Government of National Reconstruction was established in Nicaraguan territory on July 18, transferring to the capital, Managua, when the Sandinista victory was consolidated.

NORTH AFRICA: The Polisario front, fighting for the freedom of the Western Sahara, won an important victory when Mauritania withdrew from the war. Morocco's feudal King Hassan has sworn to continue his fight to rule the phosphate-rich area, but Polisario with the support and solidarity of socialist Algeria now seems set for the long push to final victory.

IRAN: The Islamic establishment are becoming more and more oppressive as they confront a people increasingly bitter about being ruled by a combination of religious fanatics and gomben bazaar merchants.

Iran's economic problems are growing, and the answers are not to be found in the Koran. Having replaced the feudal rule of the Shah, the Ayatollahs want to stop the revolutionary process while they are on top, but the country's workers and landless peasants will not easily forget it was their power which overthrew the Shah's regime, or forgive the continuing hardship and poverty of their living conditions in what should be one of the world's richest countries.

CHILE: Repression in Chile is becoming fiercer and fiercer. It would seem that the military junta is determined to put an end to all forms of freedom. Deeply concerned over the rise in the labour movement and the growing protests against the regime, Pinochet has tightened his repressive belt around the people that much further.

Shortly before May 1, the regime enacted a new law "to combat terrorism". It was put into effect precisely 48 hours before the demonstrations organised by the trade unions to celebrate May Day were scheduled to begin. According to the new law, every assembly that is "contrary to social order", "good habits" or "persons and property" constitutes a crime. Strikes are also considered crimes; and anybody suspected of belonging to the opposition, relatives and institutions to which the "guilty one" belongs are also punishable under the new law.

Ireland greets Free Nicaragua

A message of greetings to the Provisional Democratic Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua has been sent by the International Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party.

The message reads: "Greetings to the Provisional Democratic Government of National Reconstruction from the International Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party.

Our warmest best wishes to the heroic Nicaraguan people for their triumph over the Somoza military dictatorship and the reactionary forces by which it was backed.

The victory of the Nicaraguan people brings nearer the day when the last of the brutal tyrannies in Latin America installed and maintained by the CIA and the US monopoly corporations will be driven from the continent.

Our sincerest wishes to you and your people in your new struggle against illiteracy, malnutrition and disease which is the legacy of puppet Somoza's brutal dictatorship."

Sean O Ciomnaith
Director
International Affairs Bureau
Sinn Féin The Workers' Party.

AID SOCIALIST VIET NAM NOW!

The International Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party has launched an appeal for funds to help with the task of reconstruction in Socialist Vietnam.

Our appeal is made in response to the request by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for aid while it mobilises the resources of the war-shattered country.

Our response will depend on the generosity of our members and readers at home and abroad. It is also a practical demonstration of international solidarity with the people and Government of a country which inflicted the most crushing blow on Imperialism since the end of the Second World War.

To date our Vietnam Fund has

reached £500 and we wish to acknowledge the following donations received during August:

Anci Koppel, USA, \$50; Sean O Suilleabhain, Baile Atha Cliath, £104.88; Barry McCarthy, Cork, £5; Dublin Area Executive, Irish Democratic Youth Movement, £25; Matt Treacy, Dublin, £1; Bosse Anderson, Sweden, £1.

Every donation will be promptly receipted — donations, no matter how small, are urgently required for Socialist Vietnam!

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We would like to express to you and members of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party our sincere thanks for your support which you extended in the press release dated 11th July, 1979.

We believe that with our own efforts and determination and together with the effective support from friends all over the world the Vietnamese people will successfully defend and build a socialist Viet Nam.

We hope that we shall be receiving further support and solidarity from you and other friends in our just struggle to defend and construct our country. Please accept our best wishes for happiness and success.

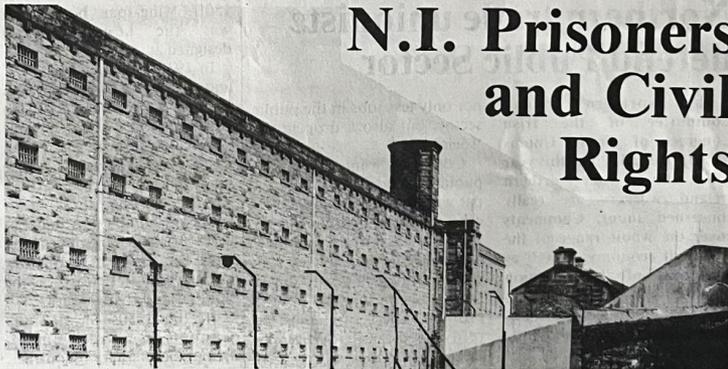
The treatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland reflects the backward attitudes of the administration and any effort to secure more humane attitudes demands the unity of all progressive forces to end the present 'lock them up and throw the key away' approach.

Republican Clubs, The Workers' Party have on previous occasions expressed their concern at the damage being done to potential campaigns for penal reform by the divisive 'blanket' protest which seeks status and privilege for some prisoners at the expense of all others.

INHUMANITY

Recent instances of gross inhumanity in dealing with prisoners who have suffered family bereavements serves to underline the need for broad agreement on a charter of prisoners' rights that would be universally applicable and might help resolve the present blanket deadlock.

The physical isolation of prisoners from the rest of the community is now being matched in the minds of Northern Ireland Office officials and ministers with a mental isolation that seeks to forget that prisoners are human beings, with families



N.I. Prisoners and Civil Rights

and with many social and personal problems. Cold indifference now meets applications from prisoners for compassionate paroles.

Where is the humanity in suggesting that parole is not denied, merely unobtainable, when the strict condition of it is that the prisoner must be escorted by prison officers? That places an untenable burden on prison officers and it must be said, is no part of their job. They cannot be made the scape-goats for the stubborn insistence of Northern Ireland Office ministers to exercise the quality of mercy. That

situation is further aggravated however when prison officers, in trying to comply with N.I.O instructions on such occasions escort some prisoners and refuse to escort others.

ESCORT

While one might well understand their apprehension at coming to some areas either they should make it clear to the N.I.O. that they will escort all prisoners or none: to do otherwise is to leave themselves wide open to allegations of operating dual standards.

Having lost his or her freedom a prisoner should never be asked to endure in the

solitary confinement of a prison cell the grief of a family bereavement or the worry of family illness or other serious dislocations of life that occur. The vast majority of prisoners have always honoured compassionate paroles — not least because they are only too well aware that failure to do so will be cynically and wrongly used by the courts and N.I.O. as a weapon of blackmail against the next applicant.

Parole applications are never considered on their individual 'merits' regrettably. There can be no basis in law, even less on grounds of humanity, for allowing the

action of previous applicants to cloud judgement on the next application.

REHABILITATING

Indeed recent cases beg the question of whether prisoners are prisoners whom, theoretically, the state is supposed to be 'rehabilitating' or are they not, in fact, being regarded as hostages of the authorities not only for the deeds of their own inmates but the deeds of the para-militaries outside the prison walls?

Penal reform is long overdue in Northern Ireland. Attempts by prisoners to organise both among themselves and in the community outside to have a campaign for penal reform launched are to be welcomed.

Such a campaign must overcome the political and sectarian divisiveness that has dominated the whole prison question for years, to the detriment of better conditions and fundamental rights for all prisoners. Those who seek selective treatment are doing a great dis-service to themselves, their fellow inmates and the great majority of the community who want prison reform for all prisoners.

Viet Nam — the truth behind the fiction

A comprehensive release from the London Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the "Problem of Vietnamese Refugees" has been published by Sinn Féin The Workers' Party International Affairs Department. Priced at 25p the proceeds of the pamphlet will go towards reconstruction in Socialist Viet Nam. In three main sections the pamphlet explains: Who the refugees are; Why they are leaving; and How to settle the problem.

The first section 'The Historical Context' deals with the struggle Vietnam has to wage against French colonialism since 1859, up to the defeat of American Imperialism in 1975. It gives facts and figures on the damage and destruction the US caused during the war; for instance that fourteen million tons of bombs and shells were dropped on Vietnam — 22 times the amount used in the Korean War, not counting Napalm and phosphorous; ten million hectares of cultivated land hit by bombs and sprayed by defoliants; a million head of cattle and buffalo slaughtered by the American command. In South Vietnam alone 9,000 hamlets out of a total of 15,000 destroyed. In the North 68 out of 70 state farms were hit by bombs as well as nearly 3,000 schools and colleges, 350 hospitals and 1,500 village infirmary/maternity homes. Every day since the war ended children at play and peasants at work are maimed or killed by a mine or anti-personnel device left by the Americans.

War legacy

On Liberation Day, war invalids in the South numbered more than 360,000; there were more than one million widows and 800,000 orphans abandoned by their American, Korean or Filipino soldier fathers. To serve the American war machine a whole commercial network to import luxury goods was established. In 1975 300,000 households were registered as "Traders" at least twice the number of factory workers. The problem then confronting the Vietnamese Government after liberation in 1975 can be clearly seen in these figures, plus the fact that there were more than 3 million unemployed, several thousand prostitutes and drug addicts; several dozen thousand gangsters and criminals; hundreds of thousands affected by venereal disease and four million illiterate people.

Part Two deals with those who leave.

The rapid collapse of the Thieu regime and the lightning victory of the revolutionary forces left the

● Confronted with a problem of 4 million illiterate people education has been a major priority since 1975.



Americans little time to take care of all their supporters or to establish any efficient counter-revolutionary organisation. About 150,000 people were taken away helter-skelter in the last weeks by sea and air. Among that first wave of 'refugees' there were:

Those who left

Many generals and other Army officers who had perpetrated 'unspeakable crimes'. Nguyen Cao Ky, the air "vice-marshal" who had sworn to defend the country to his last breath against the "communists" was among the first to fly to the US.

The influential members of pro-American governments. First of all Thieu, followed by many cabinet ministers, deputies, high ranking officials, leaders of political parties, politico-religious sects, rabid anti-communists and people regarded by the American services as running a "high risk".

Rich merchants and industrialists who had been able to buy their places on the departing planes from American officials in charge of organising the exodus.

The staffs of many American services, including intelligence agents and torturers as well as cooks and servants taken to the States by their masters. People who should have no reason to flee but who were seized by panic on account of terrifying rumours spread by the American Psychowar services — the communist victors would perform wholesale massacres, there would be a bloodbath, women found with varnished fingernails would have them torn off, everybody would be sent away to do hard labour, young girls would be forced to marry war invalids etc.

Some of the refugees, particularly the former officers and mercenaries of the Saigon army have been receiving training in special camps. They are being re-introduced into the three countries of Indochina in order to man the subversive networks there. Trained agents can come back quite easily to Kampuchea and Laos overland. In the case of Laos they just

have to cross the Mekong River and to Vietnam by sea.

An example of how things happen is when a rich merchant wants to leave Vietnam. He will make a payment of between \$2,000 and \$3,000 to a clandestine organisation which will take him and his family to a coastal port where they will hide in one of the small fishing boats which go to sea everyday. At sea they are picked up by ships which will take them to neighbouring countries. For an "intellectual" or a technician with good qualifications the journey will be free of charge, the object being to perform a brain drain to the detriment of Vietnam and at the same time raising a political hullabaloo.

Peking's policy

It is worth noting that any person with relatives living abroad, especially in France, and who submit applications to leave are authorised by the government to leave legally in order to settle abroad. From 1975 to 1978 there was a regular flow, of limited scope, of emigrants. It posed no serious problem either to Vietnam or to any other country.

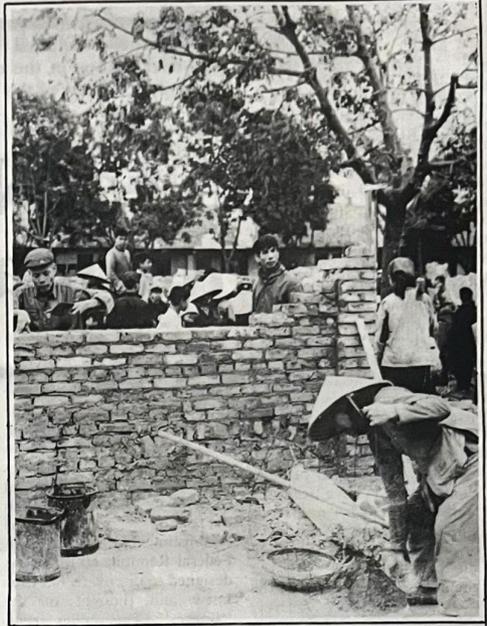
In 1978 a new element gave the problem an unprecedented gravity, the Hoa. This is the designation given to people of Chinese descent living in Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia. About 1.5 million Hoa live in Vietnam and it is from this section of the population the latest and largest number of 'refugees' come. In 1978 about 160,000 Hoa people left Vietnam and this year the trend has continued. The Chinese attack on Vietnam early 1979 worsened the problem; many Hoa people felt caught between the two forces. Even though they had lived in Vietnam for generations they were still open to influence and pressure by the Chinese Government. The impasse in the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese Governments and the bellicose declarations of Deng Xiaoping with regard to Vietnam has given rise to great anguish among the Hoa community. The problem of leaving the country assumes for them special gravity. So long as Peking's warlike policy continues it is to be expected that the exodus will continue.

Human tragedy

Part Three examines the problem from the political and humanitarian side.

It details who is responsible for this human tragedy; what is at stake politically; and most important, it sets out how the sufferings of the 'refugees' can be alleviated and finally solved.

If the American Government and its allies had contributed to the post-war reconstruction of Vietnam this would have spared many South Vietnamese the necessity of leaving their country. When the peace agreement was signed the Americans agreed to contribute \$3.25 billion in grant-aid over a five year period. This was aside from other aid which was to be agreed upon. And



● Many are leaving rather than face the task of reconstruction.

yet not one US dollar has come from the American Government since the agreement was signed. American Senator George McGovern has said "The war left tragic scars on the land and people in Vietnam. The cost to that country is difficult to grasp, so deeply did it affect every aspect of Vietnamese life. Because the major share of the damage was inflicted by the vast military operations of the United States, from bombing to shelling, to defoliation, to population relocation — the US has not only a pragmatic interest but a moral obligation to do what it can to heal the wounds. Even if the scale of aid which we can now contribute is small in relation to the need, it is important for our country that we give it, important to our self-respect, to respect for the United States in the world community and to the goodwill it can foster between Americans and Vietnamese".

U.S. responsibility

This then is at the heart of the matter, political obligations, moral obligations. Any self-respecting American will think of the problem in these terms, the more so since the United States is the country which can most effectively help, both in the reconstruction of Vietnam and in providing the emigrants with a decent livelihood. Responsibility for the 'refugees' then should not fall on the countries of Southeast Asia, as is now the case, but first and foremost on the United States.

The Vietnamese Government only wants certain principles to be observed: e.g. those who leave should do so legally after performing all necessary administrative formalities.

Clandestine departures, organised en masse with the complicity of national and international reactionary forces, affect the security of the country, disorganise its economy and infringe national sovereignty. Such departures are therefore prohibited.

Whatever category the 'refugees' may belong to and whatever reason may be behind their departure, the Vietnamese Government is prepared to work with the other governments concerned along with the international community to co-ordinate their actions in order to solve the problem. The Vietnamese Government has agreed with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees (UNHCR) that the question be resolved on the basis of a seven point accord which provides for the following:

All those wishing to leave Vietnam shall perform the necessary administrative formalities with the Vietnam authorities.

Assistance needed

The Vietnam Government shall hand over to the UNHCR a list of would-be emigrants so that the latter may approach potential receiving countries.

The UNHCR shall organise the journeys of those who have obtained the consent of receiving countries. All those who through personal channels have received the necessary documents from certain governments — this is the case with children or relatives living in France, Canada, Japan etc. — can leave the country through normal ways.

The government of rich countries, the USA in particular, should give assistance to the countries of Southeast Asia on which the burden of the refugees has fallen. To date the governments of some of the richest countries have only picked technicians and intellectuals from the mass of "refugees", abandoning the rest to the care of Asian countries.

It is obvious then when the facts are known that the Vietnamese Government is prepared to co-operate with all international organisations in order to settle this problem in the most humane way possible.

This pamphlet will assist greatly all those friends of Viet Nam and all who are sincerely concerned about the 'refugees' to counter the false propaganda which has been spread about this problem over the past months. Attempts for instance by the EEC Commission, under the Chairmanship of Michael O'Kennedy, Ireland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, to blackmail Viet Nam by withholding food aid supplies must be exposed and stopped. Five years after liberation it is still necessary for all people who believe in Freedom, Justice and Peace to demonstrate their solidarity with Viet Nam and to counter the lies and falsehoods which are being disseminated about Viet Nam with the truth, which this pamphlet provides.

Neo-fascist leaders of every kind are doggedly seeking ways of co-ordinating their activities internationally. An example of this is provided by the recent creation of the "Euro-Right" group, which brings together French, Italian and Spanish fascists. For the ideologists and practitioners of neo-fascism the question is to establish the most favourable moral and political climate for their subversive activity. They would like to rehabilitate Nazism and fascism and get public opinion to forget their cruelties.

A wave of glorification of everything connected with the Hitler period is now sweeping over Western Europe and the United States. In the German Federal Republic first of all, and then in a number of other countries, we have seen the appearance of numerous publishing firms which have specialised in the publication and distribution of the memoirs of the leaders of the Third Reich, their collaborators and their relations. Hundreds of works of this nature figured in the book fair at Frankfurt-on-Main in October 1977.

Firms producing records such as "Music of the SS Troops", "German Documentary Records", speeches of the leaders of the Third Reich, etc. are also taking part in this filthy campaign. A morbid interest is being stirred up in fascist insignia and emblems, for objects which belonged to Nazi personalities and for other "relics" of Hitlerism.

"Scientific research" claiming to be "historically impartial" present an even greater danger. As an example can be quoted "Hitler, A Carer", a biography written by a West German historian, Joachim Fest. The principal theme of this book, as well as of the "documentary" film made from it, is that Hitler fascism, far from being the logical effect of the policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism was nothing but an accidental deviation. Some Western circles have welcomed this historical and political falsification with unconcealed enthusiasm and it was immediately put to use. Thus, on the order of the educational authorities of West Berlin, the showing of this film has become an obligatory part of the educational programme.

A blank page

This type of propaganda is particularly aimed at young people who have been prepared for this over many preceding years by depriving them, so to speak, of any "political memory". We can obtain an idea of the effects of this psychological conditioning of a whole generation which had no direct knowledge of Nazism and

This article, the third in our series on the existence and growth of Fascism and Neo-Nazi groups in the capitalist world is taken from the World Trade Union Movement Review of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Neo-Nazis on the march in Europe

fascism by consulting the information quoted in the book by D. Bossman "What Do I Know About Hitler". In it there is analysed the replies given by 3,000 pupils aged from 11 to 19 years of age in different educational establishments of the German Federal Republic to questions designed to discover what they knew and thought of the "Führer". The replies speak for themselves. Hitler was the "leader of NATO", said some youth. Another young person gave him the title of "King". Still another calls him "the leader of German democracy".

The conclusion is self-evident; thanks to the efforts of pro-Nazi civilisers, the memory of a considerable proportion of youth in Federal Germany, as far as the Hitler period goes, reminds one of a blank page on which one can write anything. And the ideologists of neo-Nazism are seeking to fill it.

Thus there can only be one answer to the question of whether fascism exists today. Yes, it exists; we have only mentioned the most obvious manifestations of it. However, it often conceals itself and often goes to great lengths to deny its spiritual parents. But although that makes it difficult to identify the inheritors of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar and others like them, sooner or later one realises that, in all its forms, the extreme Right is rooted in the most ardent Nazism and fascism.

The growth of right-wing extremism in our time is no accident. The big noises of monopoly capital, who still do not want to accept the unavoidable objective laws of historical development, laws which foretell the fall of capitalism, look on its progress with hope and encourage it in a thousand ways. They are quite satisfied with contemporary fascism with its reactionary character and its ideology of nationalism, its propaganda about the power of weapons in politics, its social demagoguery and its practice of terrorism. The hope that in circumstances where there is

an extreme deterioration of the economic, social and political situation in the capitalist world, the extremists of the Right will find new opportunities of penetrating into lower middle class circles in towns and in the countryside.

The Italian Experience

After the Second World War ended Neo-Nazism appeared in many parts of the capitalist world. It is not only spreading in Western Germany. The present economic and political crisis of capitalism has created a macro-climate which encourages its development. For this reason it is worthwhile describing, even if only briefly, the progress of neo-fascism in certain countries.

In Italy, fascism continues to exist and is a serious threat to the democratic development of the country. The most influential of the fascist groups is still the Italian Social Movement (MSI) although a certain weakening of its influence can be seen in recent years. Thus, at the legislative elections of 1976 it won 2.5% fewer votes than at preceding parliamentary elections (6%, 12% and 8.68% respectively); it lost 32 seats. Splits then took place in the ranks of the MSI and gave rise to the creation of National Democracy, a party which tries to present itself to public opinion as a "democratic" and "constitutional" one. (This is what explains the fact that in March 1978 it supported the vote of confidence in the Andreotti government, supported by the communists and other democratic parties.)

"Red" and black terror

We must keep in mind that fascist elements are also active outside Parliament, operating illegally. The situation in the country is complicated by the fact that certain terrorist groups, under the cover of "left" phraseology, in fact associate with right-wing extremists. For two or three years we have seen an outburst of activity by "Red Brigades" and "Armed Proletarian Groups" and other organisations of this kind which hide behind pseudo-

revolutionary titles. During the first three months of 1978 alone, 815 terrorist acts were committed in Italy, resulting in 13 deaths and 205 wounded.

These black and "red" terrorists and those who lead them have one aim; to change the present structure of the state and the political situation which is characterised by the growing influence of the working class and the working people and by the appearance of a real possibility of the working class gaining the leadership of the country. This conclusion is confirmed, in particular, by the murder of Aldo Moro, the leader of the Christian Democrats, at the precise time when the communists were associating with the governmental majority, a rapprochement encouraged to a great extent by the political realism of Aldo Moro.

A revival in France

After many years of inaction, we have seen an increase in right-wing forces in France. Thus, the Secret Army Organisation (OAS) which in 1961 was preparing a coup d'état and which was dissolved between 1962 and 1963 by the government, operates underground. It originated some new groupings, particularly the very violent "Occident" and "New Order" movements. Both were banned but were then revived under the name of the "National Front" and the "New Force Party". Let us not forget the "Civic Action Service", known especially during the years 1968-70 as the "strong-arm" branch of the Gaullist Party; the CAS has between 5,000 and 10,000 members, well-prepared and scattered throughout France. This organisation, whose links with the world of gangsters were public knowledge, had a telephone and telex network capable of operating even in the event of a general strike as well as a training camp in the Nice area. Its depots contained enough weapons for 50,000 persons. According to Reuters, there were 30 neo-fascist groups in France at the end of 1977.

Austrians who long for the past

Neo-Nazism and the extreme right-wing in Austria are indissolubly linked with the chauvinist idea of a "greater Germany". It is thus perfectly normal that Austrian organisations of this type should, in their majority, be branches of neo-Nazi groups and parties in Western Germany.

Great Britain

In recent years the activities of extremist right-wing organisations has markedly increased in Great Britain. The most pronounced characteristic feature of them is racial hatred. The principal fascist-type organisation is the National Front which was set up in 1966. Organisationally it is composed of 64 independent sections and 125 local groups. At the general elections of June 1970, 10 National Front candidates received slightly over 11,000 votes; but in February 1974, its 54 Parliamentary candidates obtained more than 76,000 votes and at the elections in October of the same year, 115,000 electors voted for 90 National Front candidates. At the next elections, the National Front is planning to put forward 318 candidates.

At the present time, the National Front is trying to attract young people. In National Youth Front pamphlets, issued by an organisation under its direction, methods are described by which pupils can "unmask red teachers" and oppose "the spread of the Marxist doctrine". The leadership of the National Front plans to create a trade union group which would have the aim, as the leader of the Front, John Tyndall, has said "to resist red elements".

It is obvious that in drawing political parallels there is a danger of simplifying things too much, but the character of the relations between the National Front and certain leaders and ex-leaders of the British Conservatives (such as Mr. Enoch Powell), recalls the links previously described between neo-fascist forces in the German Federal Republic and in Italy and conservative circles. It is easy to see this, particularly in the present political line of the Conservative leader, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. In anticipation of the '79 elections she consolidated the position of the party she leads by speculating on racial prejudices artificially stirred up in the British Isles against immigrants from the former colonies. By doing this, as was recently said by Mr. Mervyn Rees, the ex-Home Secretary, Mrs. Thatcher "in fact comes close to the position of the National Front".

'BEYOND ORANGE AND GREEN'

Beyond Orange and Green: The Political Economy of the Northern Ireland Crisis by Belinda Probert. The Academy Press £2.70.

Belinda Probert is primarily concerned with what she sees as 'a central weakness' in most Marxist interpretations of the current political crisis in Northern Ireland: The treatment of Protestant politics and ideology.

The weakness which Probert has identified is not, of course, confined to Marxists. Since the 'Irish Question' was first formulated, there has been a tendency to omit Northern Protestants from any of the answers.

Reality

Beyond Orange and Green draws attention to the reality of one million Protestants in Northern Ireland who can't be wished away and who won't be driven out.

In a concise summary, Belinda Probert provides a rounded picture of historical developments in Ireland since the 18th century. She outlines the unequal development of capitalism in Ireland, North and South, the resultant conflict of interests and the background to the emergence of Irish nationalism and Ulster unionism.

This, in turn, 'necessitated a complete reversal of class alliances within Ireland and a radical change in ideological perspectives'.

These changes were felt most acutely at the grass-root level of the main Nationalist and Unionist parties. In the South, the abandonment of protectionism meant 'the abandonment of the small farmers, small businessmen and the petty bourgeoisie, and an attack on orthodox republicanism...' In the North, the new economic order presented a challenge to the foundations of the

Unionist state 'which had been established to defend the interests of Ulster capital and the privileges of the Protestant labour aristocracy.'

Probert's Marxist analysis provides a clear picture of Loyalism free of caricature, prejudice or distortion. As such, it is one of the most valuable parts of this study.

Solution

Beyond Orange and Green does much to explain 'the absence of a unified working class in either the North or the South of Ireland, able to intervene as an autonomous force in the present struggles'.

In her conclusion, Belinda Probert rejects both the Provisional/Trotskyist and 'Two Nations' solutions. She insists on a rigorous class analysis of the present conflict in order to lay the ground for working class unity in Northern Ireland. And she sees the establishment of a genuinely democratic assembly as a prerequisite of any settlement in which the working class may have a political voice.

Beyond Orange and Green does not offer any detailed solution to the Northern Ireland crisis. But it should be read by all those who genuinely seek one.

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Anti-Nuclear Festival

A crowd in excess of 20,000 attended the Anti-Nuclear Festival at Carnore Point, Co. Wexford during the weekend of August 18th and 19th.

Favoured with relatively fine weather, the good natured crowd were entertained throughout the weekend by about 40 group and individual musicians. Sunday was a serious day with full houses at all of the workshops held on various aspects of nuclear power, including economic and employment implications, alternatives and pollution.

Prominent speakers involved in the discussions were John Carroll, Vice-President ITGWU and Petra Kelly, of the EEC Commission.

John Carroll, Vice-President of the ITGWU speaking to a workshop concerned with the relationship between 'Employment and Economy' and nuclear power. (Pic. Derek Spiers (IFL))



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SURPRISE

Main speaker at the recent Corrymeela Conference on the political future of Northern Ireland was Fine Gael leader Dr. Garret FitzGerald. Lecturing to the largest audience of the week he outlined his Party's proposals but managed to avoid the thorny economic problems which had been dealt with quite bluntly previously by Professor Norman Gibson of the New University of Ulster who, by the way, saw no economic sense in talking about an independent Northern Ireland state.

However Dr. FitzGerald must have been somewhat surprised to be questioned by a member of the New Ulster Political Research Group (formed by the Ulster Defence Association) about the role of General O'Duffy in Spain in support of Franco. Dr. FitzGerald assured the audience that in no way did his Party adhere to such opinions as were held by O'Duffy's bluishirts.

HISTORIC

The visit of Pope John Paul II to Ireland later this month is being awaited eagerly not only by members of the Roman Catholic faith but by other Christian denominations. Leading Roman Catholic spokespersons have recently expressed their horror as to the manner in which this historic trip has been clouded by murderous terrorist acts.

Undoubtedly the Vatican will not want to become embroiled in Irish politics but there are widespread rumours that the Roman Pontiff will feel it necessary to call upon the Provisional Alliance, known to many as the Roman Catholic guerrilla army, to immediately cease their terrorist campaign.

PUERTO RICO

On March 1, Andres Figueroa Cordero died. Cordero was one of four Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for wounding five members of the U.S. Congress in March of 1954 in a protest against their country's colonial status.

Up until his release from prison in the fall of 1977, Cordero was suffering from a terminal case of cancer, was one of the longest held political prisoners in the western hemisphere.

The other three who participated in the attack on Congress — Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores and Rafael Cancel — are still in jail, as is another independence activist, Oscar Collazo, who took part in a similar action in 1950. (See U.I., January '79).

CRAC

Crac '79, the annual festival of music, dancing and drama organised by Clann na hEirean will take place in Birmingham on the 22/23 September. The address of the weekend's entertainment is 173 Lozells Road, Birmingham 19. A special feature of this year's gathering, in memory of Michael Davitt, is the literary competition known as the John McHale Memorial Award. The prize of £100 will be presented to the author of the best piece of investigative writing on any subject relating to the Irish in Britain.

SYMPATHY

The recent tragic death of the first Soviet Ambassador to Ireland Mr. A. Kaplan was a severe blow to all those who sought peace both nationally and internationally. Although only a short time in Ireland he had grown to know the people and love the countryside. It is indeed unfortunate that his untimely death should have occurred at a period of increasing understanding between the Soviet and Irish peoples.

Tomas MacGiolla led a delegation from Sinn Féin The Workers' Party to express condolences to the Embassy.

WHEN IRISH/AMERICAN EYES ARE SMILING..

THE REFUSAL OF HUMPHREY ATKINS to take part in New York Governor Hugh Carey's proposed 'Irish summit' this month will not deter American politicians from seeking a role in Irish affairs. The Carey initiative was the latest in a series of manoeuvres which began with President Carter's 1977 speech urging a settlement and promising financial assistance. More will be heard from Carter on the subject as his re-election campaign gets under way.

Given his present weak position and the potential threat from Senator Edward Kennedy, Carter will be anxious not to lose the support of political heavyweights like Carey and Tip O'Neill. They, in turn, will lose no opportunity to persuade Carter to adopt their Irish policy as his own.

Policy

What this policy is, when stripped of platitudes about 'just settlements', has never been spelt out. But it is clear that no matter how 'Irish' O'Neill, Kennedy, Carey or Moynihan might claim to be, their first loyalty is to the U.S. And their first priority in relation to Irish affairs is to ensure that Ireland remains firmly within the American sphere of influence.

In this regard it is worth noting that it was during the Presidency of Jack Kennedy that US military involvement in Viet Nam was escalated. The object was to keep South Viet Nam 'free' — or under American influence, if you prefer plain speaking.

Nicaragua, Chile, Korea, Puerto Rico and Cuba are other countries which have experienced American political/military intervention. The experiences of these countries should temper the ecstatic welcome from some quarters to the growing American role in Irish affairs.

'Honest broker'

US investment in Ireland amounts to over a billion dollars. As far back as 1974, an American commentator, Courts Oulahan, called on the US Government to 'take meaningful steps to protect its investment'. Among the steps Oulahan proposed were American arms and training for the Irish Army. Declaring Ulster 'an international issue for the United States', he envisaged a role for the US as an 'honest broker'.

Tony O'Reilly echoed this proposal in an interview published by *Irish Business* in September 1978. "At the end of the day," O'Reilly said, "if Britain ever do get out of Ireland which, I think, everyone feels to some degree they will in some form or another, two countries have to underwrite a new dawn and that is America and Britain."

O'Reilly's idea of a 'new dawn' was clarified recently when he celebrated the success of 'state planning and private avarice'. And he is busy laying the groundwork for his gomben paradise.

He has formed an Ireland Fund in the United States styled on the Jewish Fund. O'Reilly's strategy is to strengthen business and political links between Ireland and the US for the benefit of American monopoly capital and Irish gombenists.

O'Reilly has established close links with 'Tip' O'Neill, John Hume of the SDLP and with the leaders of both Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael.

Tony O'Reilly is content — for the present — to work behind the scenes, making contacts and arranging introductions. He is well placed to foster a climate favourable to the emergence of America as an 'honest broker' — indeed, he is well placed to play the role himself. *Time* magazine may not have been too far out when it tipped him as a future Taoiseach.

Yahoos

The 'yahoo' element of American interest in Ireland is represented by Fr. Sean McManus, former chaplain to Sean MacStofain. McManus is the leading light of the Irish National Caucus and his chief advisor is a C.I.A. agent Fred Burns O'Brien. The Irish National Caucus is broadly in sympathy with the Provisionals despite squabbles between the two organisations. These squabbles have not however ruptured the close friendship between McManus, O'Brien and Rory O'Brady and David O'Connell.

The Irish National Caucus has direct links with NorAid, the Provisional 'front' organisation in the U.S. Membership overlaps and in many cases there is no real distinction between the two organisations.

In the same league is the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee led by Mario Biaggi, a politician of the extreme Right and a reputed Mafia confidant.

On the fringe of this league are people like Teddy Gleason and John M. (Jack) Keane. Teddy Gleason is a Vice-President of the U.S. AFL/CIO trade union grouping and a keen supporter of Chilean dictator Pinochet. Jack Keane is U.S. National President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. He has advocated American

involvement and support for the Provisionals on the following grounds:- (1) To assure U.S. access to Irish offshore oil deposits. (2) To assure U.S. access to actual and potential naval bases in Ireland. (3) To prevent Communism from gaining influence in Ireland.

The Irish National Caucus, the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee and, of course, Nor Aid, belong to the same Right-wing Nationalist school. There are differences of emphasis between the three and there are squabbles over money and personalities buy loyalty to the old school serves to paper over the cracks.

The yahoo element fulfil the function of 'bit players' who keep the pot boiling while the Kennedy/Carey clique assume the starring roles as the occasion demands. The forthcoming Presidential election campaign is one such occasion.

Small fry

In Ireland, the Irish National Caucus have enlisted a group of supporters anxious to play the 'patriot game'. Among these are Neil Blaney who boasted in Dáil Éireann of his role in forming

the Provisionals; Kevin Boland who is attempting yet another comeback from the wilderness which is his rightful home; Sean MacBride the lawyer and multi Peace Prize winner who never shuns the limelight.

But Blaney, Boland and MacBride are mere small fry in the American scheme of things for Ireland. They may help to pave the way for an American entrance on the stage of Irish politics. Once that is done, they will be told to resume their seats in the stalls. If they persist in shouting nationalist slogans they will be put out of the hall.

The long-term American interest in Ireland will be entrusted at a local level to such tried and trusted performers as Jack Lynch, Charlie Haughey, Garret FitzGerald, Frank Cluskey and John Hume. Tony O'Reilly will be at hand to keep a watching brief.

Political football

Despite the fantasies of McManus and the yahoos the object of American interest in Ireland is not to solve the 'National Question'. The object is to prevent any problems for monopoly capital in Ireland and, where such problems arise, to smooth them out. There is nothing incompatible with this objective and making a political football of Ireland during election year in the United States. Cynicism is a major ingredient in American power politics.

● Tip O'Neill: accused of accepting bribes from South Korean agents, he is a key figure in the Koreagate Scandal.



● Tony O'Reilly: responsible for throwing 365 Gouldings workers on the dale.



TRAGEDY OF CORRYMEELA

The week long conference at Corrymeela, August 4-11, sponsored by the Social Studies Group on the Political Future of Northern Ireland attracted spokespersons from the SDLP, Alliance, Republican Clubs The Workers' Party, I.I.P., Official Unionists, the UPNI and the New Ulster Research Group.

As is noted elsewhere Professor Norman Gibson, NUU, contributed a significant economic analysis; Dr. Garrett FitzGerald outlined the Fine Gael position and Dr. Cornelius O'Leary, QUB, gave a paper on Political Attitudes. Des O'Hagan, from the Party's National Executive delivered a paper on the need to replace the present political vacuum with democratic class politics. The

paper will be published in the Autumn edition of the Party's theoretical journal, *Teoiric*.

Although Dr. Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party did not attend, all other shades of political opinion were expressed. Possibly one of the most astonishing contributions was made by Gerry Fitz, MP, who talked of an imminent British withdrawal which prompted Glenn Barr of the New Ulster Political Research Group to reply that this was a recipe for civil war.

The tragedy of Corrymeela was that the good-will clearly shown among those representing working people's interests is now overshadowed by events of the past week. Those who attended the conference and understood the need for unity of working people in Northern Ireland have now an even greater task before them.

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