



AN CAMCHÉACHTA **THE STARRY PLOUGH**

NEWSPAPER OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

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Luach 15p (Britain 20p)

HUNGER STRIKE — STORY P.3

H-Block and Armagh

**support
Irish
political
prisoners**


IRSP



AS WE go to press, a new hunger strike begins in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. In the coming weeks, the strike will be escalated as more prisoners, including some from Armagh, join the fast.

This hunger strike has been caused by Britain's failure to implement the assurances given following the ending of the last hunger strike on December 18th. The prisoners are determined that the hunger strike will continue until their demands are met.

We urge all Republicans and Socialists to give full support to the prisoners in their campaign.



NEW WOMENS MOVEMENT

Since its inception the Wkomens Movement in Ireland has been plagued by the 'National' Question.

Many women inside this movement wanted only reforms, within the confines of the 26 county State. But now for the first time, women have come together as anti-imperialists, as women who know that their liberation is entwined with National Liberation and that either can not be successfully achieved without the other.

This new Women's Movement must be welcomed and supported by all Socialists and by all those seriously concerned with the liberation of our country from British Imperialism.

EVENTS

International Womens Day 1981 brought with it a huge step forward for Irish women.

On Saturday 7th more than 300 women came together in Belfast and Dublin to discuss womens oppression in terms of National oppression and British Imperialism.

On Sunday March 8th over 1,000 people demonstrated outside Armagh Prison, showing their support not only for the plight of the women inside the prison in their campaign for political status, but also proclaiming their support for Irish womens emancipation, and seeing their sisters in Armagh in the front of that fight.

INTERNAL SUPPORT

Women came from Germany, Iran, England and Belgium. Greetings and messages of support and solidarity from Swapo Indian Workers Association, Quebec, Holland, France, Norway, El Salvador, among others were read at these events.



Neglect made the Stardust a deathtrap

IN THE early hours of February 14th, fire swept through Artane's Stardust Ballroom, resulting in the death of 45 young people.

Their chances of escape were minimal.

Only 3 of the seven exits were not locked and chained. The windows were barred with steel shutters preventing exit. There was no emergency lighting. And as those inside struggled to get out — they were poisoned by the deadly fumes given off by the burning polyurethane.



It was a death trap.

It could have been avoided if some of the money which swells the bank accounts of the owners had been used on safety measures, and if proper building regulations had been implemented.

There have been plenty of warnings of a coming disaster.

In April 1978, the premises of Jonathan Richard in Merchants' Quay, Dublin was destroyed by fire. Twenty workers who had been trapped on the top floor barely escaped with their lives.

All of the windows, including the skylights, had been sealed by wire caging. Minutes after the caging had been priced off from the outside, the entire building was destroyed. The lack of proper fire inspection and safety precautions was obvious.

No report on that fire was ever made public. Nor were there any prosecutions brought against the companies or its directors under the Factories Act. The entire affair was covered up.

In Bantry, the Whiddy disaster exposed the complete inadequacy of the fire inspectorate. Over 50 workers lost their lives.

In Fenit, Co. Kerry, in May of last year, a man and his five children died when their foam-filled furniture caught fire. The cause of their death was the deadly fumes given off by the polyurethane.

And only last August, the Bundoran hotel fire — in which ten people died — exposed the dangers of places of entertainment without sprinklers, proper fire escapes and alarms, regular inspections — and using highly inflammable materials.

Again there was a cover up. If proper regulations are laid down; if there is an efficient fire inspectorate, and if owners are forced to comply, the risks of people dying in such fires is small.

The aftermath of the Stardust disaster has seen the predictable accusations and counter-accusations. The establishment politicians concentrate on making as much political capital out of the deaths of 45 working class youth. Haughey and his cronies made a point of canvassing the area.

Meanwhile the Butterly family, owners of the Stardust have hurriedly lodged their claim for compensation. They want over £4 million.

This is despite the fact that the complex was insured for less than a quarter of that sum, and despite the fact that if they had spent a few bob on safety measures, 45 young people would be still alive.

As for the people of Artane and Coolock, they are left with their grief.



No end to the hunger?



● The H-Block marchers take to the streets again after the Brits renege on their concessions to the Blanket Men.



ON MARCH 1st a new hunger strike begins in the H-Blocks. This follows the refusal of the British Government to act on assurances given to the prisoners following the ending of the last hunger strike on December 18th.

At that time the hunger strikers were told that most of their demands would be met. The demands for free association, visits and remission presented 'no problem'. And the question of prison work would be interpreted in such a way as to include the prisoners own craft-work and education. On the question of clothes, the prisoners were to be allowed to wear clothes sent in from their families.

This was to happen if the Prisoners ended their hunger strike.

Concern for the critical condition of hunger striker Sean McKenna, allied with the assurances given by the British authorities that their demands would be met, led to the ending of the hunger strike.

Almost immediately the British began to backtrack.

First they asked the prisoners for a delay in implementing their demands. This was needed, they said, in order that arrangements for the sending-in of clothes and the cleaning of cells could be made.

Then the prison authorities announced that the prisoners would not receive their own clothes until such time as the prisoners conformed fully to the prison rules. In other words, — until the prisoners agreed to do prison work and wear convict uniform!

This the prisoners rejected and demanded that the British implement their assurances.

When they failed to do so, the prisoners resumed the dirty protest and announced that if their demands were not met they would recommence a hunger strike on March 1st.

Irish Republican Socialist Party prisoners will be represented on this hunger strike. The IRSP/INLA prisoners are determined to continue their opposition to the criminalisation policies of the British Government.

IRSP opposition to the H-Blocks has existed ever since Merlyn Rees announced his proposals for the ending of special status.

At a meeting of representatives of the various organisations in Long Kesh (Provisionals, IRSP, Officials,



● The Blanket men still no clothes.

UDA and UVF), at which the British tried to sell the idea of criminalisation in return for remission of sentences, a welfare centre and cash, IRSP representatives — including the prisoners' spokesman Frank Gallagher — stated that there was no way that the IRSP would accept the H-Blocks.

That has been the IRSP position ever since.

Over the past five years the party has campaigned for the restoration of political status. Despite the murder of party activists involved in this campaign — Miriam Daly, Noel Lyttle, Rodney McCormack and Ronnie Bunting — the party remains determined.

In Long Kesh the prisoners' representatives are steadfast in their opposition to the attempts at criminalisation. The prisoners' spokesman, Patsy O'Hara, has stated that he is prepared to go on hunger strike until such time as the prisoners' demands are met.

We urge all Socialists and Republicans to support the prisoners and the campaign in support of their demands.

**JOIN
the
IRSP**

Nicky Kelly To Appeal Again

THE SALLINS MAIL TRAIN CASE again made the news since our last issue when the Court of Criminal Appeal gave its reserved judgement as to why Osgur Breatnach and Brian McNally were released from jail. Meanwhile their co-accused Nicky Kelly who returned voluntarily from the USA to clear his name and is presently in Portlaoise Jail postponed his intended hunger strike.

Nicky's defence lawyers are seeking permission from the Court of Criminal Appeal for an appeal to the Supreme Court. The Court of Criminal Appeal refused Nicky an enlargement of time in which to appeal. Its presiding judge, Justice Parke has said since that verdict and it will be indicative of the State's intentions who replaces him.

Oppressive Interrogation

In brief, the Court of Criminal Appeal stated that its reasons for their order for the release of Brian McNally was that the judge rules (stipulating the manner in which interrogations are conducted and statements obtained) had not been complied with by the gardai. They stated that they were bound by the facts of the case (i.e. the 'facts' accepted

by the Special Criminal Court trial: that there had been no ill treatment by gardai) and accepted them unreservedly.

However, in the case of Osgur Breatnach they made no such stipulation and gave a list of reasons, by no means exhaustive, as to why he was freed. These included the failure to provide a solicitor on repeated requests and oppressive interrogation.



● Nicky Kelly.

BRUTALITY

Accepting that the Court of Criminal Appeal is tied to the facts of trial the judgement should help the campaign for the release of Nicky Kelly especially as his grounds for appeal are practically identical to those of Brian McNally. If the Court of trial found as fact that a defendant had two heads the Court of Criminal Appeal could not find otherwise. What is of significance is that the reasons for the release of Osgur Breatnach were not exhaustive and that brutality was not ruled out although it was not referred to.

Nicky Kelly had planned to go on hunger strike on February 2nd but postponed his plans due to the forthcoming H Block hunger strike and in recognition of the positive response he and the Release Nicky Kelly Committee had been receiving in relation to the case. The fact that his defence lawyers were also proceeding with an appeal to the Supreme Court also affected his decision.

Support and interest in the case is being shown from individuals and organisations not only in Ireland but also from abroad. Amnesty International has requested documentation on the case. The Papal Nuncio in Ireland is among academics, lawyers and journalists who have also supported the calls for his release and various T.D.s from the three Dail parties have been making representations to the Minister for Justice.

Five years after the Sallins Mail Train Frame up the case is still not out of the news. It is clear that the release of Osgur Breatnach and Brian McNally resulted from the State wanting the case out of the news because the glaring injustice was a political embarrassment. The late but welcome statement by the Provisional IRA accepting responsibility for the robbery added to that embarrassment. It explains why the Irish Embassy in the USA was reluctant to facilitate Nicky's return to Ireland. While Nicky remains in jail, and particularly with the possibility of a hunger strike, as well as the intended Supreme Court hearing, the Great Train Robbery Frame Up will continue in the news.

Jobs — THE DOLE QUEUE LENGTHENS



WEEK BY week, the number of unemployed grows. In the 26 Counties alone there are over 160,000 out of work and there is no sign of this trend being reversed.

There are several reasons for this situation:- The main one has been the decline of traditional industry due to free trade and E.E.C. membership. The garment, textile and footwear industries, for example have been badly hit.

Irish Leathers in Gorey have closed down as a direct result of E.E.C. membership. Cheap leather shoes were allowed to flood the Irish market. Under E.E.C. rules, nothing could be done. The factory ended up going to the wall.

In an effort to provide alternative employment, high-technology multinational industry is being invited in. Being capital intensive, these firms require less labour.

But even foreign firms setting up operations in Ireland are being hit by the international recession. The result is close-

downs, cutbacks and redundancies.

In the past the age-old answer to unemployment was emigration. Now, as other countries suffer from unemployment, like England and the U.S., this option is no longer available. In fact there has been a steady stream of Irish workers returning from Britain, resulting in a net gain of 14,000 people per year in the 1970s.

In addition, the flight from the rural areas continues, putting extra pressure on the few available jobs. During the 1970s the

population of the areas around Cork, Limerick and Waterford grew by 50%; the once rural ring around Dublin grew by 66%.

The number of jobless has been increased by the government's cutbacks in important sectors of the economy. Cutbacks in health, education and housing have meant fewer jobs for nurses, doctors, teachers and building workers

In the 6 Counties the situation is similar. Nearly 100,000 people are out of work. Traditional industry has gone to the wall and even Loyalist areas which once enjoyed secure employment are being hard hit.

Thatcher's response to the economic crisis means that Republican areas with histories of continuous unemployment — like Strabane, Newry, Derry and West Belfast are made to suffer as social welfare benefits fail to keep in step with inflation.

Traditional industry, ship-building, for example, which employed 24,000 in the late 50s now employs only 6,500. Number employed in the building industry have shrunk to 23,257. Since last June nearly 8,500 building workers have lost their jobs.

The response in both areas to the jobs crisis has been the same.

In the South the government in its desperation has sought to attract more multinational investment. But this method of solving unemployment is dangerous, for several reasons.

- Multinationals are free to name their own terms. Some multinationals, like Asahi, which was even turned down by the development agency of the Philippines — an agency notorious for accepting unfavourable offers — were allowed to dictate terms. (Asahi set up its highly toxic plant in Killala, Co. Mayo).

- This strategy leads to complete dependence on foreign capital. Control of this capital lies not in Dublin but in New York, Tokyo or Toronto. Firms are free to close down at any time, with massive redundancies and little or no alternative industry.

- After 1990, E.E.C. rules forbid the Irish Industrial Development Authority to offer tax exemptions, free grants and sites. These are the very dangerous inducements offered to attract the multinationals in the first place. When this happens,

many multinationals are expected to close down their Irish operations.

For the workers this desperate development strategy is lined with danger. Those lucky enough to have work are forced to keep wage increases to a minimum. With a massive pool of unemployed anxious for any sort of work for low wages there is not much scope for demands for wage increases. The threat of the dole is a deterrent.

For those on the dole, the future is bleak. Few realise that they may never work again. These are those who are over forty. Many who are out of work, like those under thirty, have hardly worked since they left school. Their job prospects are next to nil.

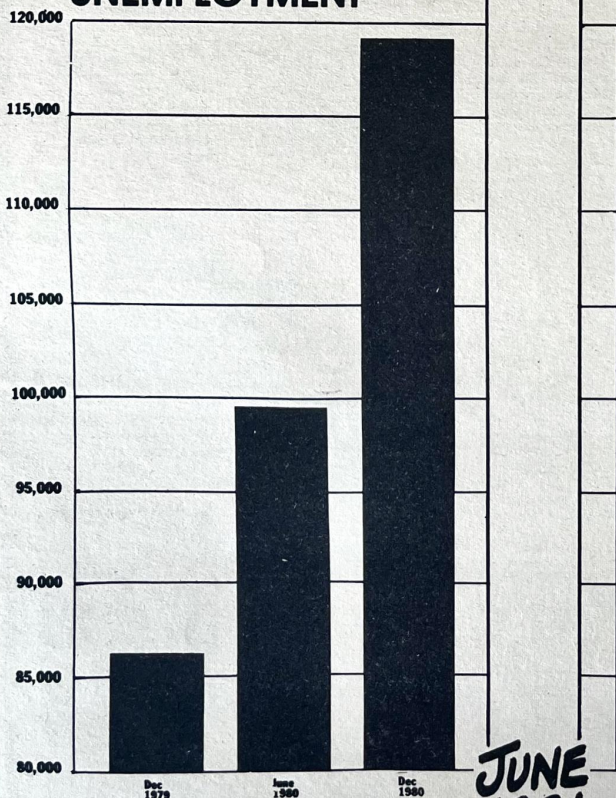
The future for those at school isn't better. For most the only future in sight is the dole queue. *Maire Geoghegan Quinn's* infamous suggestion that they be taught German solely in order to obtain work in Germany is of no value. The German economy is plunging deeper into recession, and has its own unemployment crisis.

Meanwhile the profits of the multinational companies, banks, insurance companies, and major industries are at record levels. In late January, the Industrial Development Association placed an ad in *The Economist* magazine, where it stated that "Ireland is the most profitable industrial location in Europe". It asked for more multinationals to step forward to exploit Irish workers.

The continuation of the present capitalist system means a continuation of exploitation, of periodic crises. Of closures and redundancies and of lives spent on the dole. The long term interest of Irish workers can only be guaranteed by the creation of a United Socialist Irish Republic.

However, in the short term, immediate action must be taken to meet the present crisis.

UNEMPLOYMENT





PIEST'S HOUSEKEEPER required. 72341. 0611.
CLEANING LADY required. 3 afternoons, April to October 2.00 p.m. Wednesday to Friday 2.00 p.m. Monday to Wednesday 3.00 p.m. after 5 p.m. drop area.
DOMESTIC HELP WANTED. Mon. 2.00 p.m. mornings, Tues. 1.00 p.m. school. Blackrock / Terenure. phone 099116. DG10

SITUATIONS WANTED
EXPERIENCED Women available for sewing curtains, pelmets, alterations etc. Phone Carlow 42743.
QUALIFIED Stylist required for top class salon, for interview phone 0503/42519.
PERSON SEEKS Work in own home. Knowledge of P.A.Y.E., V.A.T., book-keeping and typing. Box No. 185.

IN/RJ1

THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY
 Promotion prospects in the Royal Ulster Constabulary are good — it's a career worth considering. Fill in the coupon and we will send you the details.

Don't miss this opportunity!

● Job adverts reflect the employment crisis: there are no signs of an upturn.

● The nationalisation of all banks and financial institutions, and a massive injection of capital into the state sector.

● The immediate nationalisation without compensation of all our natural resources and the creation of a state-controlled smelter system, so that our mineral wealth can be processed here, creating thousands of jobs in spin-off industries.

● The creation of a state company responsible for the construction and operation of factories provided with raw materials from our mining, oil and gas resources.



The I.R.S.P. stands four square with the rank and file fight back against redundancies. In particular, we fully support the occupation by workers of factories faced with or threatened with closure.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party demands:

● an immediate price freeze on all essential commodities such as housing, health services, education, food, clothing and public transport.
 ● Support for trade union demands for programmes of public works and investment.

● an immediate price freeze on all essential commodities such as housing, health services, education, food, clothing and public transport.
 ● Support for trade union demands for programmes of public works and investment.

● a guaranteed week's work, or a full week's pay
 ● An immediate ban on overtime, and the sharing of all available work.
 ● The nationalisation without compensation of all firms threatening redundancy.

"MY HOPELESS SEARCH FOR WORK"

— The Starry Plough speaks to some unemployed people

SEAN, 18, left school over a year ago, and lives in County Carlow. Since he left school he has had two jobs. The last one was at a local factory. When the recession hit there were several workers laid off. He was one of them.

"The factor was doing badly and had to make people redundant. It was a case of last in, first out.

"Since then, I've tried to find work but have had no luck. What with Erin Foods about to close and the sugar factory letting people go, the prospects don't look so good. I sign on, but my claim hasn't come through yet.

"The worst thing about being redundant is the boredom. I watch television a lot, and I play the odd game of pool or snooker. There isn't much else to do.

If something else doesn't turn up soon, I think I'll go over to England. I know that things aren't much better there but at least it will be a change from here."

MARTIN is 28 and lives in Dublin's inner city. He is married with five children (3, 8, 5, 4, 2). He has been virtually unemployed since he left school. The only work he has ever had is a few days' casual labour.

"You get to realise that there isn't much point in applying for jobs, and once they know you're from the Summerhill area inner city, you haven't a hope in Hell. No-one will employ you. We're all regarded as thieves around here.

"The only chance of work is the occasional nixer. . .

"The only thing to do is watch the TV. I have the odd bet — not for much though. There isn't much money to spare, but the wife is good at managing the money.



"There isn't any work in the area — and I can't afford to leave it to look for other work. If I did, there wouldn't be money for food. I get £52-odd a week. After paying the rent, TV — the TV is essential — and for fuel and HP payments we're left with a little under £15 to feed the family with.

"I'd like to stay in this area. I know everyone. It would be awful to be living out in Tallaght or Blanchardstown and be unemployed and know no-one.

"But I think I'll move in a few years. At least the kids will have a chance of getting work when they're old enough."



HARASSMENT

I WOULD be glad if you allow me some space to say a few words about harassment by the police.

During the recent hunger strike campaign, the Special Branch continued their 'normal' activities by watching and stopping most of the people involved in support of the prisoners. This has in recent days given way to a more positive assault on the H-Block campaign.

This has shown itself in the numbers being lifted and held overnight in various Garda barracks throughout the city. Activists are being visited at home and at work, in an attempt to intimidate them and force them to stop their work for the prisoners. This is not having any effect — as more and more people are standing up to the police.

We must give each other as much support as possible. We must keep a record of every time we are stopped by the Branch, we must not allow our supporters to be stopped on their own, we should stop with them and give them help by just being there. But the main thing is to stop treating this harassment as 'only to be expected'. We must protest at each and every occasion we are stopped and we must not be silent.

Martin Dwyer,
Bray.

RUGBY TOUR

I AM fully behind the I.R.S.P.'s call to ban the proposed rugby tour to South Africa. This call should have been made more forcibly, and extended to cover all contacts with the racist regime in that country.

The Irish Rugby Football Union must pay attention to the views of the majority of the Irish people, before it tries to buttress apartheid. The tour will only serve as support for the racism that is at the heart of all laws in South Africa.

Let us not forget what happened during the tour organised by the British Lions. While they played jolly games with the whites, the police were attacking, killing, and arresting black children in townships

through South Africa.

I am glad that the I.R.S.P. has called on everybody to support the demonstrations and activities of the I.A.A.M.

Tom Doherty,
Bogside
Derry.

HUNGER STRIKE

IN THE last hunger strike campaign, we were subjected to a campaign of propaganda which implied that there were only Provos on the protest. Although John Nixon's name was mentioned, and his letters were used in the campaign, it was never stated that he was a member of the I.R.S.P.

I believe that this was wrong, as the National H-Block Committee was supposed to be responsible for all the prisoners. In my area of the country ordinary people believe that there are only Provos on the hunger strike. This must not be allowed to happen again.

The I.R.S.P. prisoners have played their part in the protests in the Blocks since November 1976 when Connolly Brady went on the blanket. He is now the man who has been the longest time on the blanket and will have served five years on his release in June this year.

Indeed the I.R.S.P. was the only organisation not bought off at the negotiations when the Blocks were being built. From the outset the I.R.S.P. was opposed to the H-Blocks in Long Kesh, and stated its position at the talks with the British. We were the only party to do so.

I am fully behind the campaign in support of the 5 demands and believe that we must do our utmost to ensure victory. But the campaign should not be used to subordinate us to the Provisionals.

Tom O'Keefe
Kerry

MULTINATIONALS

THROUGHOUT the country at the present time, the results of inviting in the multinationals are plain for all to see. Empty factories, and the long dole queues.

Twenty years ago the government of Sean Lemass in the 26 Counties decided to follow the lead of the Stormont regime. It started a drive to attract the big multinationals. This was done by offering tax-free profits, free factories, and a supply of cheap labour. Since then we have had a succession of subsidiaries of these firms. They have been consistent on only two things — trade union bashing and the export of their profits.

As the tax-free period runs out they are leaving. This puts the workers back where they started, on the dole.



It must be remembered that it is the workers who paid for the factories in the beginning, and for the machinery. But when the firms leave they sell the machinery.

The workers are therefore paying to be exploited.

It is time that the export of all profits should be banned.

Kevin Brennan
Kilkenny

T.U.C

THE CARTOONIST David Low always drew the British trade union movement as a carthorse: it has plenty of muscles but hardly any brain.

It demonstrated its muscles in February when the miners picked up Mrs

Thatcher (the lady who was 'not for turning') by the feet and shook her.

But as far as solidarity with other, weaker, sections of workers are concerned the British labour movement has an appalling record. In recent years firemen, bakers, the workers at Grunwicks and many others have been left to fight alone — and lost. If the strongest sections had lifted even their little fingers, these struggles would have been won.

The movement is plagued with narrowness and self-interest. The TUC leadership is partly to blame, making no attempt to co-ordinate struggles. But this leadership is itself partly the product of deep imperialist attitudes which reach down, sometimes, as far as the shop floor. The same miners who so quickly savaged government policy when it affected them have hardly lifted a finger to support the workers imprisoned in the H-Blocks — many of them active trade unionists.

The TUC is now threatening to disaffiliate those trades councils which argue against the H-Blocks and for British withdrawal.

These attitudes can be changed. Not by passing — or failing to pass — important-sounding resolutions in the bureaucratised congregations of the super-official labour movement, but at a much more humble and effective level. The level of Shop Workers Against the H-Blocks, Hackney School Against the H-Blocks; such-and-such workplace against the H-Blocks.

This is how the phenomenally successful Anti-Nazi League in Britain was built, which split and demoralised the fascist National Front. This is the level at which socialists should operate. They should, of course, exert all their influence in the official trade union movement as well. This is what mass movements are made of, and it is probably how an Irish solidarity movement can be built in Britain.

Terry Cairns
Homerton, London

BOOK REVIEW

"The Armagh Women"

NELL McCAFFERTY feminist and journalist has during the last year, through a series of articles on the protest in Armagh, put her case in a 90 page booklet which looks at the history of the jail over the past 10 years.

"The Armagh Women"

The events reach up to the present protest. Some background on individual women protesters. It shows the extent of women's oppression from the horrific degrading treatment they receive inside jail to three detailed accounts of specific women and the types of things they have suffered.

First first of the book on Armagh itself, describes the conditions very vividly. She does this partly through an interview with an ex-prisoner although she misinterprets the reason why that particular woman went to jail. She deals with the prisoners themselves very sketchily, and the political points of view don't really emerge.

The second part of the book looks at the struggle of women on the outside, in the nationalist ghettos, the specific oppression and the way they are fighting back. Although Nell adequately portrays life inside Armagh the book fails to bring across the politics of the women prisoners.

Indeed it could be said that in the second part the interviews with the activist women read more like social drama and again the political motivation does not come across. However she does successfully convey the oppression which the working class women face under British Imperialism. They exist on a mere pittance, suffer harassment by the British Army, the difficulty of bringing up a family, while the husband is in jail or on the run, constant struggle against male chauvinism, in her fight to find her new identity as a woman.

It also describes how women have organised and fought back as women through the R.A.C. and "Women Against Imperialism", and more basically on the streets of Belfast. Women were amazed by the lack of men and were convinced they could do more themselves. "These women now realised how brave they were, they now knew really how men would not have survived literally without them."

POSTAL POINTS

I think that anti-imperialist will only come about when the leaders of all the various groups agree to stand down. All of these leaders have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

What is needed is a fresh approach by those who have not been corrupted by "positions of power" Eoin Murphy, Cork.

Your article on the economic recession in the February issue was badly needed — if a little sketchy. Too many republicans forget about the human misery caused by unemployment and rising prices. Sean Dunne, Longford.

Mr. O'Connor's letter on the sectarianism of Northern Aid in New York is very relevant. Noraid is totally opposed to socialism, and while offering money and verbal support for the national struggle, counteract the entire struggle for an Irish Socialist Republic by their actions. Eamonn Connolly, Queens, New York

I would like to welcome the new layout of the Starry Plough. It is much easier to read and the use of socialist cartoons is excellent. Tony Murray, Manchester.

The ugly face of LOYALISM

LOYALIST drums are thundering across the Six Counties again. Paisley bellows at Thatcher, berates Charlie Haughey for his designs on the Six Counties and sneers at the ossified old guard of the Official Unionist Party (OUP). His style is viewed by some as theatrical and by others as something to be dismissed as an electoral gimmick. But while there is some truth in this — the OUP is slowly being eclipsed by the Doctor's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) — Paisley's mobilisation of loyalist reaction is more than a mere vote gathering exercise and poses considerable political and physical dangers to many in the North.

With significant support from sections of the RUC and UDR (as shown once again recently by his mountainside parade and information leaked from the RUC) along with a layer of Northern Protestants who fear for their future in a time of economic recession and political uncertainty, Paisley's war mongering can be seen as a last ditch rallying cry to preserve not so much the Union but the Loyalist Ascendancy.

The split between the OUP and DUP is extremely significant. Put simply it is an argument between Loyalist leaders who are ensure of maintaining their continued

dominance. The OUP believes that only the maximum integration possible with Britain can guarantee the 'Northern Way of Life' (denial of civil rights, jobs and housing discrimination and repression).

But Paisley believes that a higher degree of local control is not only more effective but, given British reluctance to maintain indefinitely such a high military, political and economic input into the North, might also become necessary. Such circumstances suit his particular brand of sectarian demagoguery which is more populist and reliant on loyalist gangs themselves.

This division illustrates the real paradox of unionism.

On the one hand there is much rhetoric about loyalty to Queen and country; on the other hand to Loyalist invective against treacherous British politicians rivals republicanism in its hostility at least. Suddenly dropping their loyalty to Britain they discover an Ulster nationalism and threaten to go it alone. In short a virulent Unionism that threatens the Union itself.

There has to be some rational explanation for this schizoid political behaviour. The inescapable conclusion is that Northern Protestants are in fact Irish but have been robbed of their identity and consciousness. The root cause of that loss is the historic, British inspired division of the country, it's people and most important of all, the Irish working class.

That division has been materially cemented and sustained by the granting of marginal but very real and appreciated privileges to protestant workers in social, economic and political areas of Northern life.

PRIVILEGE

That privileged position was bolstered by the creation of an artificial and militarised statelet whose only political culture has been a negative one: anti-catholic in order to justify the partial exclusion of Catholics from industrial and political society; anti-Irish to create a spurious sense of cultural identity. Thus various anti-christ figures such as the Pope, Haughey, IRA leaders and so on are magnified into enormous proportions in order to bind together a people with negative emotions of fear and dislike.

To define that culture in positive terms would beg too many questions not the least of which is whether the British population and body politic regard northerners — any northerners — as British or

Irish. They clearly believe them to be the latter as successive political decisions and opinion polls have shown. The ultimate expression of that broad opinion is best captured by the exasperated racialism of those who end an argument by saying "let the paddies kill each other, we don't want any more to do with them".

In the 26 counties reactionaries and anti-republicans pretend to ignore the very real economic and social factors which combined to create and perpetuate loyalist oppression of Northern Catholics and the division of Ireland.

Professional commentators and right wing politicians, employing pseudo history and sociology, can only produce the hoary old excuses of violence, religious beliefs and dogma, bitter historic memories etc to explain a divided Ireland. Put bluntly — age old unionist arguments in modern jargon.

REPRESSION

This form of 'analysis' is usually coupled with exhortations to the Irish to criticise themselves for being obdurate and unwilling to come to terms with the Loyalist tradition. More fashionable arguments employed concern catholic clericalism as if Paisley, Martin Smyth, Andy Tyrrie et al were fighting to preserve some sort of secular paradise in the North! (The fact is that we ALL, Catholic and Protestant, North and South, suffer from clerical repression and interference with our lives).

The real Loyalist tradition meanwhile was displayed recently by the public and casual threats made by USA spokesmen on television to assassinate republican and H-Block activists.

Northern people face assassination and discrimination every day. They will do so as long as the political and

economic slum called Northern Ireland exists. And Protestant workers will continue to be trapped in the reactionary cul-de-sac of Unionism so long as their existence is bound up with the Loyalist state.

PAISLEY

Most Unionists are well aware that the state cannot continue without the support of Britain. But that support will not be forthcoming in the way that Molyneux's OUP desire it. A semi-autonomous Northern state with guarantees from Britain is what Paisley is angling for; with himself at the helm. That is why he now seeks to establish himself as the strong man of unionism.

At the end of the day Paisley knows that he may have to negotiate with Thatcher and Haughey to outline the future plans of imperialism in Ireland. For the sake of Irish workers, Protestant as well as Catholic we must ensure the sabotage of such designs.



Why the sugar workers feel bitter

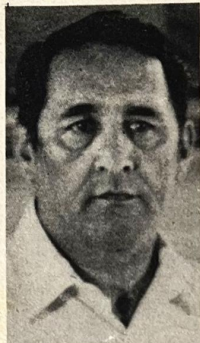
THE dole queue!

That's the future facing over 100 Carlow sugar workers. And among the sugar factory workers there's a growing bitterness. They are bitter at the sugar company management — who they say are totally to blame for the lay-offs.

Last year, despite the recession, the company made over £¼ million profit. But this doesn't suit the management, who are seeking to rationalise their operations, in order to make even more profits.

The company has already decided to close Erin Foods in Carlow, which will result in over 70 redundancies. This decision was taken despite the promises made by company chief, Maurice Sheehy, who stated

that the Carlow plant could not be judged by balance sheets alone.



This closure is being opposed by local farmers and workers, who point out that the food processing industry in this country is still in its infancy — and that millions of pounds are spent annually on importing processed foods from abroad.

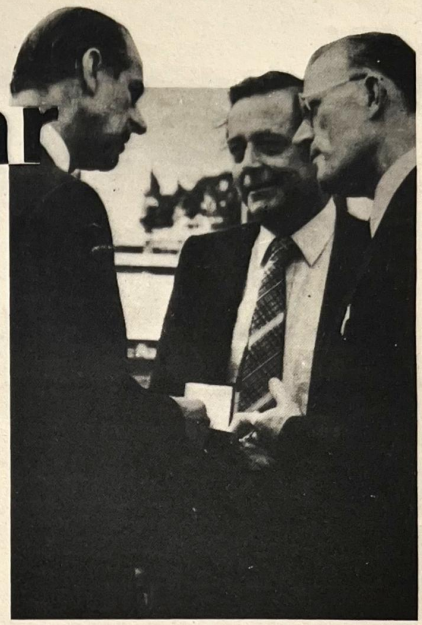
Now it's the turn of the sugar factory to feel the turn of the screw. The consensus among the factory workers is that the management is striving to kill two birds with the one stone.

1. Last summer, there was a strike at the Carlow factory, when the company bosses tried to renege on an agreement with the sugar cooks. In a magnificent show of solidarity, the strikers made the management back off — despite lack of support from the union bureaucracy.

The current lay-offs are seen as both an act of revenge and of warning. Revenge for the last strike and a warning that there will be even more redundancies should the workers try to defend their rights, through strike action.

2. The lay-offs are part of a rationalisation programme. By using more machinery in place of workers, the company hopes to maximise its profits. The current layoffs are just the start.

The company has also threatened to close the Tuam factory, resulting in the loss of over 500 jobs.



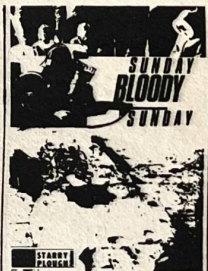
● PHILIP THE DUKE presents the silver medal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England to C.S.E. Director Maurice Sheehy.

In its propaganda the company has stated that the layoffs are due to low productivity and falling profits. This is something the workers angrily reject.

They say that if the £2 million Erin fraud is taken into consideration, then the company's profits last year were nearly £2½ million. "Taking into account the extent of the international recession this shows the potential profitability

of the company". As for the low productivity claim, the workers see this as a ploy by the management to cover up their own shortcomings.

The Carlow Comhairle Ceanntair of the I.R.S.P. has pledged its support for the workers campaign to save the jobs and has pointed out that the necessity of the Carlow workers co-operating with sugar workers in Thurles, Mallow and Tuam in order to prevent similar layoffs in those factories.



Apologists for Britain's military policies in Ireland have tried to present 'Bloody Sunday' as a freak incident which happened by chance on January 30 1972 in the heat of a civil rights demonstration. This 24-page pamphlet ably disposes of this black propaganda myth by outlining the high level of planning that went into the operation.



Closures crucify Arklow

380 WORKERS have been given notice at the Nitrigin Eireann plant in Arklow. In the area there are fears that the plant will close completely, resulting in economic disaster for the South Wicklow and North Wexford region.

A number of reasons have been given for the proposal lay-off. According to the managing director of N.E.T., Paul Conlon, the causes are the deterioration in the market, the asset write-off surrounding the closure of Arklow gypsum, problems with the Marino Point plant, and heavy interest repayments.

These causes need investigation.

N.E.T. manufactures fertiliser, and the recession in agriculture has hit sales. Cheap foreign imports are undercutting the firm's prices. Under E.E.C. rules there is no protection. Dessie O'Malley has bluntly stated that the firm should close down and imports of the cheaper fertilizer be stepped up. It's a position which is hardly appreciated in Arklow.

Arklow Gypsum was set up in 1978, to manufacture wallboard. Over £11 million and two years later it closed down. The workers said that it

was never given a chance to attain profitability. The firm said that the plant was not an "economically sized unit".

Many Arklow people believe that the firm was never meant to succeed. They point out that the firm was set up following the laying-off of 555 men from N.E.T. They believe that it was only meant to act as a safety valve for discontent.

The Marono point plant was designed to manufacture fertiliser using natural gas from the Kinsale field. It was estimated that it would cost £30 million. The final cost was £120 million, resulting in heavy borrowing and heavy interest rates.

The firm borrowed over £19 million in Eurodollars from the European Investment Bank. At the time Paul Tansey of the Irish Times pointed out that this left the firm vulnerable to exchange rate losses. It was a prophetic statement.

Other loans were secured by export credit guarantees. The increases in the cost of the plant were met by the Government increasing N.E.T.'s power to borrow, not by state funding. This added to the interest burden.

The crisis in N.E.T. is often held up as an example of too much excessive government involvement in industry, but the reality of the situation proves otherwise. It is, in fact, an



● Nitrigin Eireann plant, Arklow.

example of undercapitalisation by the state.

Dessie O'Malley believes that the Arklow plant should be closed down. The social cost of redundancies doesn't bother him. Job targets are only issued at election time.

The Wicklow Comhairle Cheannair of the IRSP has condemned the proposed closure. It says: "The time for action is now. Making verbal protests is not enough. The

PAYE marches showed street protests to be an effective weapon — a weapon which Arklow workers can use".

The IRSP in the area has also called for support from the Marino Point workers. They point out that if the Arklow jobs are lost now, it could be the turn of the Marino Point workers in a few years.

* In Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, 30 workers have been laid off at Viners cutlery. This brings the total number unemployed in the town to 1,105 (not including school leavers). This is the largest number of unemployed in the town's history.

round
UP

International Women's Day

WOMEN HAVE been in the forefront of all struggles of the oppressed against the oppressor, whether overtly or behind the scenes. No liberation struggle can be won without women's involvement — or maintained without their active support.

It is not enough to say that as an oppressed section of society we, as women, must take up our own fight — in isolation from our male comrades — for our gains.

We must recognise that our brothers in their fight for socialism are fighting for us, and that we, likewise, in our fight for liberation, are fighting for them.

To say that all women are our sisters is untrue and dishonest — look at Margaret Thatcher!

Our sisters are those who identify the struggle for women's liberation in class terms, not simply male — female terms. Such a black and white analysis serves only those who oppress us, and does nothing to rid us of the system which creates our oppression as women, as workers and as mothers. In Ireland that system is imperialism.



● Women's liberation is not an act of charity but an act of revolution

In Nicaragua, El Salvador and elsewhere women have taken up arms to demand their rights as human beings; they demand the right to govern their own lives; they demand self-determination.

Likewise in Ireland. Armagh Jail houses our sisters who have been found guilty of "subverting or attempting to subvert" the state

Day outside the women's prison in Armagh.

Women from SWAPO, Chile, Eritrea and Europe are supporting International Women's Day by demonstrating in solidarity with Irish Political Prisoners outside Armagh Women's Prison.

They recognise, as we do, that socialism is the only answer — that we must rid ourselves of the cause — imperialism — in our countries before we can achieve liberation.

But equally important to us is the fact that no-one can give us our liberation. As women we must fight for it ourselves.

We must show our male comrades that women's liberation is not an act of charity but an act of revolution and enlist their support in the fight for women's liberation and a socialist republic.

This is a state which from its inception has been undemocratic. It has institutionalised sectarianism. The rights of the working class are, for some, non-existent and for others being daily eroded. Surely attempts to "subvert" such a state should be welcomed by all who call themselves socialists and women's liberationists.

This is why on Sunday, 1st March 1981, we will commemorate International Women's

murderer is magically transformed into Duarte the "social reformer".

According to Reagan's U.N. ambassador, it is all right to maintain relations with "moderately repressive autocracies who are friendly to the U.S. We're not free to have relations only with the democratic countries of this world — to say that measles is less bad than meningitis doesn't make pro-measles does it".

Perhaps not. But it is cancer in its deadliest form, that Reagan supports in El Salvador.

The junta has been found guilty by the international Peoples Tribunal against the people of El Salvador. It carries out massacres like the Sumpul massacre of last May, 600 refugees were murdered by the Hinduran National guard.

If Ronald Reagan plans to call in the cavalry, to halt the advance of socialism, he should plan again. The times have changed, the people are armed and ready, and he can only get bogged down in a war he cannot win. Even the people of the U.S. would no longer stand for that.

Support Demonstration to Armagh, March 8th arriving 2.30 at Armagh. (Buses leaving Dublin 10.00 a.m.).

Support Women's conference March 7th, Montclare Hotel, 12 Noon.

Support Social March 7th, Montclare Hotel, 8 p.m.

EL SALVADOR — ANOTHER VIETNAM?

Ronald Reagan seems hell bent on getting himself into another Vietnam. Whether he's still trying to lick the image of being just a "B-rate" John Wayne or if he's still only in it for the money, or what, we just don't know. What we do know, is that the people of El Salvador are suffering as a consequence.

For years, groups of armed thugs have been employed by El Salvador's "middle of the road" governments to terrorise the population. These death squads daily torture and kill hundreds of El Salvadorians, including supporters of the left-wing broad front against the government, the F.D.R.



But the FDR guerrillas have been waging a largely successful fight against the junta, especially over the past 3 months. This raises the spectre of another left wing government in Central America, following the success of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. This, Reagan doesn't want.

Instead, he is calling for the military option against the F.D.R. Already U.S. military aid to El Salvador has been resumed. Last month, "secret documents" were published in Washington which showed that weapons were being funneled by Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador. This gave Reagan what he wanted — the chance, of an old style shoot out with his arch enemy, Fidel Castro. Reagan aides are hinting that some kind of military/economic blockade of Cuba is in the works.

To justify support for the vicious Duarte regime in El Salvador, Reagan trots out the new Alexander Haig foreign policy line. Duarte the



AN CAMCHÉADHTA
THE STARRY PLOUGH

How Noel Lyttle was left to die!

THE INQUEST on Noel Lyttle and Ronnie Bunting was held on February 19th in Belfast. It returned verdicts 'in accordance with medical evidence'.

In other words, both Ronnie and Noel died as a result of being shot; Ronnie seven or more times. Noel

once.

Both Ronnie and Noel were shot when two hit-men burst into the Bunting home in the

early hours of October 15th. They rushed upstairs and shot Ronnie and Noel, and wounded Ronnie's wife Suzanne.

All of this was said at the inquest.

It was said that Ronnie was killed instantly. It was also said that Noel was dead by the time the ambulance arrived.

This is a lie. Noel Lyttle was wounded in the lung. He was alive when the ambulance came.

The ambulance men took Suzanne to hospital. Despite her protests, Noel, who was still alive, was left in the house. By the time the ambulance returned, Noel had bled to death.

The inquest failed to answer why he was allowed bleed to death.

Why the cover-up? Why was the fact that he was still alive when the ambulance came covered up?



Is there any truth in the rumour that one of the ambulance men had Loyalist connections? These are some of the questions that remain unanswered.

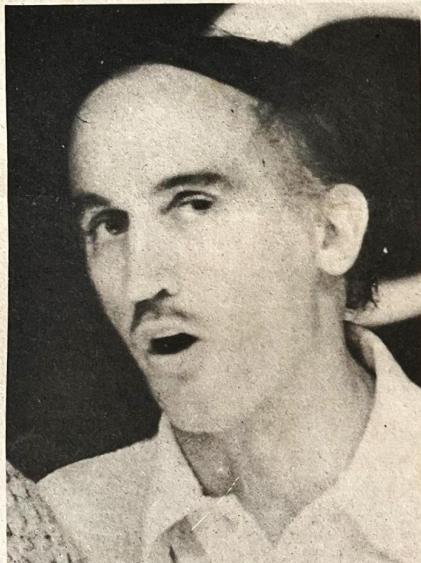
Also unanswered is the question as to why Suzanne Bunting was not allowed to say who she thought killed her husband. Nor was she allowed to mention the death threats made against Ronnie by both the British Army and the R.U.C.

Why not?



Ronnie Bunting and Noel Lyttle died as a result of a conspiracy to remove leading anti-imperialist leaders. Many Belfast people believe that this conspiracy is continuing in order to ensure that the true facts are covered up.

Judging by the inquest report on Noel Lyttle, it seems that these people are right.



● **NOEL LYTTLE** — Why was he allowed to bleed to death? The inquest failed to answer this question!

JOIN THE **IRSP**

The IRSP is organised on a 32 County basis with the aim of establishing a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic with the working class in control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

(Block Letters Please)

Ainm (Name):

Síoladh (Address):

Tel:

SEND TO:
An Runai,
I.R.S.P.,
34 Upper Gardiner St
Dublin 1.
OR
392 Falls Road,
Belfast.
OR
Connolly House,
10 Chamberlain St
Derry.

END HANGING NOW!

AS the date for the appeal against the death sentence and conviction in the recent Roscommon murder trial was announced, a new campaign against the death penalty in Ireland has been launched.

This campaign has received support over a broad political spectrum — as did the Murray Defence Campaign in 1976.

There have been no executions in the 26 counties since 1954. In fact there has been only three executions since 1954 although 20 people have been sentenced to death.

Once again there have been

Health cuts hurt worst-off badly

LET THE poor suffer! That's the message from Charlie Haughey as he attempts to "balance the budget".

Charlie has the economy in trouble. And one of the ways by which he hopes to solve his problems is by savage cutbacks in the public service sector, particularly in the area of health.

In 1980-81 one of the country's biggest health boards received an allocation £1.6 million short of what the board estimated it needed for the year. By October '80 the allocation was spent, and the board had to go with its begging bowl to the government for more cash.

For 1981-82 there is a shortfall yet again. As the budget estimates included no allowance for inflation, there is no doubt that the boards will have to go begging again.



These cuts in spending affect the people who use the health services in various ways. Firstly there is no money available for new projects — however badly they may be needed. This includes the provision of clinics, extra medical staff, preventive medical care.

The result is that for some clinics there are now waiting lists of up to 18 months. In particular services such as ear, nose and throat clinics, and child psychology are affected.

And that's not all.

In order to control staffing costs locums are sometimes not employed when medical and paramedical staff go on leave. Where substitute nurses are employed they are taken on 1:2 or a 1:3 basis. In other words, one nurse substitutes for two or three other nurses.

In the area of capital expenditure, there are little or no funds available for projects such as the renovation of psychiatric hospital buildings. As an investigation by Magill magazine has shown, these hospitals are in a desperate condition. Built at a time when mental illness was regarded as a crime, they are more like jails than hospitals. No money is available for their improvement.

The lack of funds has also meant considerable overcrowding in many general hospitals. **St. Luke's Hospital in Kilkenny has patients in corridors. Yet other hospitals like St Laurence's and Jervis Street in Dublin are faced with closure.**



In Carlow attempts are being made to close the maternity hospital. According to the gurus in the health service, it does not justify the cost of running it. If it closes, Carlow people will have to use the already overcrowded St Luke's hospital in Kilkenny.

In Arklow, the campaign for a hospital, begun over eight years ago by I.R.S.P. member Nicky Kelly (see story page 3) and others, has been relaunched. But with the present cut backs in the health services if it looks like the committee will have a tough fight on its hands.

The chronic state of health finances are of little interest to the rich. They can afford private treatment. The poor — as always — have to suffer.

In 1977, Fianna Fail promised to "get the country moving again". The only moving the hospital patients in the Free State are likely to be doing is into the corridors.

the predictable calls from the Gardaí for the implementation of the death penalty. The Gardaí have also called for harsher legislation and an end to such basic rights as the right to bail and the right to remain silent.

These demands must be opposed as much as the calls for the death penalty.

Throughout 1976, the I.R.S.P. called for the abolition of hanging and the death penalty. This demand was lost in the Murray Campaign. It would be unfortunate if this should happen again during the campaign for the reprieve of the Roscommon 3. **The campaign could be for the ending of the death penalty once and for all.**